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ART. I. — 1. *Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society.* Boston. Nos. 1 — 13. pp. 1234.

2. *Annual Reports of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.* Nos. 1 — 9.

3. *Report on Punishments and Prison Discipline, by the Commissioners appointed to revise the Penal Code of Pennsylvania.* Commissioners, Hon. JUDGE SHALER, Hon. JUDGE KING, and T. J. WHARTON, Esquire. 2d edition. pp. 77.

4. *A Defence of the System of Solitary Confinement of Prisoners, adopted by the State of Pennsylvania; with Remarks on the Origin, Progress, and Extension of this Species of Prison Discipline;* by GEORGE W. SMITH. Philadelphia. pp. 104.

5. *A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law, and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day, in a Letter to John Bacon, Esquire, President of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.* By FRANCIS LIEBER, Corresponding Member of the Society, and Professor of History in the South Carolina College. Philadelphia. 1838. pp. 94.

THE attention, which, within the last fifty years, has been given to the subject of prison discipline, affords cheering

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evidence of the progress of the human race in civilization. Ever since the investigations of Howard, the condition of prisoners has been kept in view by the statesmen and philanthropists of Great Britain. It has, on various occasions, been made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry, and thus the public mind has been prepared for the necessary changes. The same spirit has, to a very laudable degree, diffused itself over some of her most important colonies. Within a few days, we have received from Calcutta the Report of the Committee of Prison Discipline to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated January 8th, 1838; a volume of one hundred and thirty-eight quarto pages, together with an Appendix of valuable statistical and illustrative papers. France is also engaged in the same good work. In the speech from the throne, of the last year, we find the following cheering announcement; "Our penitentiary system has long called for all the attention of my government, and you will have to examine a bill for its improvement." The same subject has also attracted the attention of the government of Prussia; but to what extent its labors have been carried, we have not at present the means of ascertaining.

It is gratifying to be enabled to add, that, at the present time, our own country seems to be taking the lead in this department of social benevolence. The volumes and pamphlets, whose titles stand at the head of this article, give evidence, that the American public is fully aware of its importance. Every one of these pamphlets contains valuable information, and most of them have been drawn up after diligent and laborious research. But, above all, the prisons in the larger number of our States have, within a few years, been greatly improved; in some other States, they are at present undergoing improvement; and even the most backward are inquiring for the best manner in which acknowledged evils may be remedied. Legislators are disposed to give to the subject a serious consideration. The people are willing to tax themselves, to any amount that may be necessary, to render prisons in reality schools of reformation, instead of being, what they formerly were, the abodes of horrible sin, and filthy, squalid, unalleviated misery. The State of Pennsylvania has appropriated to the building of one prison, the Eastern Penitentiary, the princely sum of $772,600. That we are not, to say the least, behind the most civilized nations

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of Europe in the success of our efforts on this subject, is proved by the fact, that already several commissioners have visited us, for the express purpose of examining and reporting upon the condition of our penitentiaries ; and that, in every instance, they have recommended that our system, somewhat modified, should be adopted by their respective countries. Of these it will be sufficient to mention Mr. Crawford, commissioner from the Parliament of Great Britain, Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville, from the French government, Dr. Julius, from the government of Prussia, and a commission from each of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. It is delightful to be able in this manner to return a grateful acknowledgment for the obligations which have been conferred upon us by the benevolence and civilization of our mother country.

The interest which is taken in this subject, both at home and abroad ; its manifest connexion with all efforts which may be made for the moral improvement of a people ; nay, the number of persons who must be affected for good or for ill, by the prison discipline of a civilized country, * present sufficient reasons, why we should devote a larger portion of our pages than usual, to a review of the origin, progress, and present condition of the penitentiary system of the United States.

As evil in practice is, generally, the result of error in theory, we are commonly obliged to explode the one, before we are able to eradicate the other. It is, therefore, important to remark, that the notions which, for ages before the time of Howard, almost universally prevailed with respect to prison discipline, and which, to too great a degree, prevail at this day, present a striking illustration of the inconsistency of public sentiment on all moral subjects. Any one, who will take the trouble to observe, will immediately perceive, that there exists, in the standard by which public opinion measures human guiltiness, a zero point, and a range of transgression both above and below it. This point is fixed, in the main, by legislative enactment. Let a man be ever so corrupt, let him be faithless, impure, dishonest, only let him keep *beyond* the reach of the law, and he will, too frequently, in the ordinary intercourse of society, share

* It is computed, that there are at least ten thousand persons, at the present moment, confined in prisons in the United States.

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in every mark of conventional respect. He is a member, in good standing, of the body politic.

> "Well dressed, well bred,
> Well equipaged, is ticket good enough
> To pass us readily through every door."

We feel bound to sympathize in the sorrows of such an one, to rejoice in his successes, and, in the things in which he is faulty, to labor for his reformation.

But let a man be convicted of a transgression which brings him *within* the reach of the law; let a civil process be issued against him; let an officer take him into custody, and walk with him through the crowd of his silent, astonished, and unrecognising friends; let him but cross the threshold of a jail, and hear the harsh bolts of a dungeon grate upon his ear; let him be convicted by a jury, and sentenced by a judge, and abide for a longer or shorter period a term of confinement; and, moreover, let his manner be ill-bred, his appearance hirsute, his garments tattered, with not a lingering trace of the gentleman about him, and all his relations to society are instantly changed. It mattered not how many might be the circumstances extenuating his fault, whether the offence were the first or the fiftieth, nay, whether the culprit was young or old, ignorant or well informed; until very lately, his treatment was, in all cases, precisely the same. It seemed as if society could look leniently upon every thing else, but the infraction of her own laws; or, rather, as if we held, with the ancient Spartans, that crime did not consist in the act, but in its being detected. It had come to be believed, that, as soon as man became a convict, his very nature was changed, and all the relations of his fellow-men to him were changed also. Henceforth appeal to his reason or to his conscience was useless, and, like a brute, he could be influenced only by fear. Nay, it was worse than this. We address the *hopes* of brutes as well as their fears; but no one ever addressed the hopes of the wretch, on whom the hand of punitive justice had fallen. He had lost caste. No one cared what became of him. It mattered not how much he might be abused, what insolence of office he might suffer, or how deeply the iron in the dungeon might enter into his soul. If he repented, and was in heart a reformed man, no one would believe him; no one would employ him; and he was obliged to give proof of his moral improvement, by suffering starvation unto death.

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How benevolent and how thoughtful was that proof of discipleship which our Saviour enjoined, "I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

It is truly affecting to observe how universal, before the time of Howard, had become the neglect of every thing relating to prisons and prison discipline. Not only were prisons constructed without any regard to humanity, and without any design of promoting the reformation of prisoners, but it came to be the fact, that the whole economy of these moral charnel-houses was absolutely shut out from the thoughts of the happy and the virtuous. There was but one description of jail for the whole community, and into this were indiscriminately thrown debtors, thieves, murderers, persons detained for trial or as witnesses, lunatics, idiots, young and old, and frequently men and women, without classification and without constraint. If any solitary cells were to be found within these gloomy walls, they were generally under ground, dark, damp, chilly, and too filthy to be described; and in these the more furious maniacs were incarcerated for life. The facts might have been easily ascertained by any one who chose to inquire into them. They must, we presume, have been known, they certainly *ought* to have been known, to judges, to grand jurors, to sheriffs, and frequently to lawyers. Yet, before Howard, no one had ever thought of directing the public attention to this shocking inhumanity. It is humiliating to reflect, how easily we become accustomed to the most enormous cruelty, and by how slight a circumstance a human being may be shut out from all our kindly sympathies.

> "There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart;
> It does not feel for man. The natural bond
> Of brotherhood is severed, as the flax
> That falls asunder at the touch of fire."

It is the peculiar merit of Howard, that he unfolded to the civilized world the mysteries of the prison-house. It was his great object to lift the curtain, and reveal to mankind the atrocities which were perpetrated in the very bosom of society. His journals contain a full, an accurate, and an impartial disclosure of the condition of jails, prisons, penitentiaries, and hospitals, throughout Great Britain and the greater part of the continent. His labor was that of exploration. In this he was so completely successful, that it was impossible after-

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wards for the subject to be wholly forgotten. His labors must always be the groundwork of all that shall ever be done for the improvement of prison discipline; and no one can henceforth treat upon the subject, without introducing his discourse with a eulogy upon the character and labors of John Howard, the Philanthropist.

But Howard confined himself, almost exclusively, to an exhibition of the evils which at that time existed; and to the repeated inculcation and illustration of the fundamental principle, on which all improvements in prison discipline are founded, namely, *There is nothing gained by the imprisonment of criminals, unless that imprisonment tend to reformation.* He declares, that all his experience might be summed up in this one maxim. It is found in all his reports; it speaks out in all his correspondence. To direct the minds of men to its importance, was a labor of which the value can scarcely be exaggerated. But, unfortunately, Howard did not live to see his principles carried into practice under his own direction. He never embodied his ideas in the form of a prison, which should become the model for general imitation. He was in a commission for erecting a penitentiary in the vicinity of London, but, from disagreement with his fellow-laborers as to its local situation, he abandoned the undertaking. While he, therefore, demonstrated the fundamental principle, he left the manner of its practical application to be invented by others.

The result was, as might have been expected; Howard was canonized, and worthily, but the prisoners were neglected, and were in danger of being forgotten; so much easier is it to eulogize philanthropy, than to be indeed philanthropists. Notwithstanding Parliamentary inquiry, prisoners in Great Britain remained for a long time very much as they had been. We presume, that Mrs. Fry found about as much misery and vice in Newgate, as Mr. Howard had found there fifty years before. If the writings of Mr. Dickens are pictures from life, we fear that things there are but little better now. With the exception of the prison at Gloucester, and perhaps a few others, we doubt whether, notwithstanding all the disclosures of Howard, any material improvement had taken place within the first thirty years after his death. Some efforts had been made to classify prisoners, and the treadmill (a punishment of doubtful utility) had been introduced into very common use; but, beyond this, we be-

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lieve that very little had been effected. Within the last twenty years, however, a brighter era has dawned upon the prisons of Great Britain. The labors of the "Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders," have been attended with cheering success; and there is now reason to hope, that every British prison will be hereafter constructed with the design of promoting the moral reformation of the criminal.

It is not remarkable that this country should, for a long time, have followed the example of Great Britain, in her system of prison discipline. It was natural, that our fathers should entertain the sentiments in which they had been educated; and that they should erect, in this country, such prisons as they had been accustomed to see at home. Such was the fact. Our penitentiary system inherited all the vices of the land of our origin. The following description of the Walnut-Street prison, in Philadelphia, in the year 1783, is a picture, by no means exaggerated, of very many of the prisons, both in this country and in Europe at that period. Such have many of them continued until within a very recent date. We extract it from the pamphlet of Mr. G. W. Smith.

"On the 20th of November, 1783, the supreme executive council of this State appointed a committee of their body to confer with a deputation of the Society, respecting the abuses in prison discipline. We would willingly draw a veil over the horrid transactions, which the Society were the instruments of Providence in discovering, exposing, and finally, in a great measure, preventing. The prison was a perfect pandemonium, rendered only the more conspicuous and revolting, from the contrast with the institutions of wisdom and benevolence, which everywhere surrounded it. It had degenerated from the imperfect condition of a workhouse, which it had been in the days of Penn, and for some time subsequently. The cruelty, the crimes, the misery, and nearly all the abominations, which prevailed in the prisons of America and Europe, were the constituent parts of our system."

"In this den of abomination, were mingled, in one revolting mass of festering corruption, all the collected elements of contagion; all *ages*, *colors*, and *sexes* were forced into one horrid, loathsome communion of depravity. Children, committed with their mothers, here first learned to lisp in the strange accents of blasphemy and execration. Young, pure, and modest females, committed for debt, here learned from the hateful society of abandoned prostitutes (whose resting-places on the

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floor they were compelled to share) the insidious lessons of seduction. The young apprentice, in custody for some venial fault, the tyro in guilt, the unfortunate debtor, the untried and sometimes guiltless prisoners, the innocent witnesses, detained for their evidence in court against those charged with crimes, were associated with the incorrigible felon, the loathsome victim of disease and vice, and the disgusting drunkard (whose means of intoxication were unblushingly furnished by the jailer !) Idleness, profligacy, and widely-diffused contamination, were the inevitable results. The frantic yells of bacchanalian revelry ; the horrid execrations and disgusting obscenities from the lips of profligacy ; the frequent infliction of the lash ; the clanking of fetters ; the wild exclamation of the wretch driven frantic by desperation, the ferocious cries of combatants ; the groans of those wounded in the frequent frays (a common pastime in the prison), mingled with the unpitied moans of the sick (lying unattended and sometimes destitute of clothes and covering), the faint but imploring accents for sustenance by the miserable debtor, cut off from all means of self-support, and abandoned to his own resources, or to lingering starvation ; and the continual though unheeded complaints of the miserable and destitute, formed the discordant sounds heard in the *only* public abode of misery in Philadelphia, where the voice of hope, of mercy, of religion, never entered. In this nursery of crime, almost every species of profligacy was practised without punishment, and openly taught without any attempt at prevention ; — sins, to which the purity of Christianity has not attached even a name, were nightly perpetrated."

"In this abode of moral contamination and of suffering, a few were released from their misery by the lingering pains of hunger, of cold, and neglect ; several committed suicide ; and the frequent and fatal pestilence, — the inevitable consequence of filth and crowded apartments, — swept off multitudes, to whom the means of education, as well as the lessons of religion, had never been offered, — whose dying hours were unimproved, — whose beds were attended by no merciful minister of the gospel, urging them to repentance, and bearing the blessed hope of mercy and forgiveness. They departed, either unheeded, or surrounded by wretches on whom their awful example produced no reform ; from whom their sufferings received no compassion, nor any alleviation. The last sigh of the most hardened was breathed out in audacious and shocking defiance ; whilst brutal indifference, or agonizing despair, marked the dying moments of many of the tenants of a jail of a Christian community.

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"Those of our citizens, who remember the former condition of the prison in Walnut Street, can testify to the correctness of this description. *It is no overcharged picture of the fancy.*" — *Defence of System of Solitary Confinement*, pp. 10 – 12.

Such is a faithful description of the prison in the heart of Philadelphia, a city renowned for her deeds of philanthropy. It is a melancholy illustration of the fact, that there is scarcely a conceivable degree of inhumanity, to which we may not become so accustomed as to survey it, for years together, with almost absolute indifference.

Shocking as is this description, it is sorrowful to add, that it too accurately portrays the condition of the greater part of the prisons in this country, and in Europe, at the time to which it refers, the year 1788 – 9. It is yet more painful to remark, that prisons of essentially the same character have, until very lately, existed in almost every State in the Union. The old State prison in New York, the old State prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts, the old New Jersey State prison, we have reason to believe, so far at least as moral contamination is concerned, but too nearly resembled the Walnut Street prison in Philadelphia. In respect to the prison at Charlestown, as late as 1826, Governor Lincoln, in his annual message, speaks as follows ;

"So few are the cells, that, in many of them, from four to sixteen convicts are locked up together at night. In these emphatically committee-rooms of mischief, the vilest schemes of profligacy are devised, and the grossest acts of depravity perpetrated. Confederacies and combinations are here formed, by the practised veteran, with the noviciate in crime ; and, to complete the infamy of the association, a horrible offence is here committed, between wretches who are alike destitute of moral sentiment, and without the reach of physical restraint. Nature and humanity cry aloud for redemption from this dreadful degradation. Better even that the laws were written in blood, than that they should be executed in sin." — *Message*, January, 1826.

The Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, in their report on the state of this prison for the same year, assert, that "If the convict who is sentenced to the State prison, have any spark of virtue left when he enters its walls, he will soon learn to forget the distinction between virtue and vice, and assimilate himself to his companions."

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Such was the condition of the principal prison of Pennsylvania in 1788 – 9, and of the State prison of Massachusetts in 1826. The condition of the State prison of Newgate, in Connecticut, was, if any thing, still more deplorable. We refer to these, especially, because no State in the Union holds a higher rank for benevolence and intelligence, than Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. If the condition of prisons was anywhere else more encouraging, it must have been owing to accident, and not to the superior virtue and wisdom of the community.

The fact then was, we fear, in few words, very much as follows. Throughout the whole of this country, prisons were erected for carrying into effect the enactments of criminal law, and at the same time for the confinement of debtors, and persons detained either as witnesses or on suspicion of crime. In the construction of these prisons, but one demand was ever made upon the architect, and that was, that he should render them secure. Provided they were strong, it seems to have been supposed, that nothing further could be required. It was not considered of the least importance to inquire, whether the convicts spent their time together or apart, either by day or by night; whether they were idle or industrious; whether the novice were separated from the old offender, or whether they all mingled together in one loathsome mass of moral putrefaction. Nor was this all. As prisons thus constructed, at variance with every principle of virtue or humanity, would, by necessity, call into action all the baleful passions of the human heart, it was to be expected, that they would be disorderly and liable to frequent insurrections. Such was the fact; and hence it became indispensable to invest the keepers with authority to inflict punishment to any extent, which might be requisite, to subdue the refractory. This power they were obliged very frequently to exercise. The prisoners were sometimes beaten with the lash; at other times confined in cold and dark dungeons, on a short allowance of meagre food; and, in general, the government of the prison was left, without much responsibility, to the warden and keepers. In other words these officers were required to govern men, placed under a system, of which the whole tendency was to render them as ungovernable as possible. That in this protracted struggle for supremacy, the heart of the keeper should become steeled, and all the fountains of his

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sympathy dried up, was of course to be expected. It would be a miracle, were it otherwise. His will must become an iron will. His word must be law. His authority would be endangered by any manifestation of tenderness. Knowing that he has to do with men on whom, in their present situation, no moral or social motive would produce effect, he must govern by a perpetual appeal to personal fear. Now we do not ask, how Howard or Mrs. Fry would have governed a prison under such a system; but we ask, Can any one doubt whether, with the degree of virtue which falls to the share of ordinary men, there is one out of a thousand, who would not, under such circumstances, become a tyrant? Such, we fear, was the actual result. The discipline of prisons became, in general, unfeeling and severe, and the only motive brought to bear on reasonable and moral beings, was the fear of the lash, the dungeon, or the gallows.

The case, however, became still worse from accidental circumstances. A prison is, or at least was, a place which scarcely any one visited except on official business. Those who crossed that gloomy threshold unconvicted, were either persons interested in its management, or the near relatives of the condemned. The former would not be the first to complain of a system by which they obtained their bread, and for the establishment of which they were not responsible; the latter, sensitive to the disgrace of being related to a State-prisoner, would always be reluctant to speak publicly of abuses. The criminals, who had suffered from ill treatment, would rarely publish their wrongs, for very few of them could write intelligibly; and those, who were able to reveal what they had seen, would rather bury their disgrace in oblivion, than, by a publication of what they had seen, proclaim their infamy to the world, and thus engrave their shame upon an ever-during record.

The result of all this was, that a prison became a secret place, an *imperium in imperio*, governed by its own laws, or rather by its own precedents; a cavern, whose gloom was never irradiated by a gleam of sunshine, and whose noisome miasma was never stirred by the breezes of heaven. Here every noxious plant vegetated in rank luxuriance, and here every obscene beast made his chosen habitation. So thick was the darkness which enshrouded these abodes of misery, that they might exist in the very midst of an enlightened and

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philanthropic city, and yet not a man could be found who had any knowledge of what was transacted within their walls. Whatever might be the sufferings of the wretched inmates, they were all borne, so far as the community was concerned, in silence. No one would believe the narrative of a State-prison convict; or, if he believed it, no one would be easily convinced, that criminals could be governed by any thing better than starvation and cold, the lash, the dungeon, and the bayonet.

The effect of this treatment upon prisoners may be easily conceived. By the laws of our nature cruelty produces hatred, oppression creates resistance, injury awakens revenge, and combination is resisted by combination. The criminal believed himself to be treated with unfeeling harshness, and he hated the jailer who restrained him, but most of all society, by whose authority the jailer acted. He may have felt conscious of crime, but yet the very moral sense, which convicted him, taught him also, that it was lacerating injustice to consign him, with utter heartlessness, to so intolerable a doom. From this state of mind, the transition was inevitable, to that of a fixed resolution to be revenged on society for the injuries which he supposed himself to have suffered. Men agitated by such feelings, and enjoying every facility for unrestrained intercourse, would naturally combine against the laws which restrained them, and cherish a deadly hostility against the men by whom the laws were enacted. Thus it came to pass that every prison in the land was a hotbed of crime. Murders, thefts, robberies, were devised there day after day, and there were the instruments fabricated by which these crimes were to be perpetrated. Every human being, who came within the sphere of the influence of such a system, became, inevitably, more depraved. The very means for preventing crime became in fact the means, not only of multiplying it, but also of rendering it more cautious, more expert, more nefarious, and more systematic.

As an illustration of the nature and tendencies of the former, and to too great a degree the present system, of prison discipline, we would mention a case which occurred only a few years since, in one of the New England States. The only voucher for its accuracy, it is true, is the veracity of the sufferer himself; but the naturalness of the whole narrative

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is such, that we have never doubted for a moment of its essential authenticity.

The young man to whom we refer was an orphan, left in mere boyhood to the care of an uncle, who taught him his own trade, that of a shoemaker. The uncle, however, absconded in debt, while our informant was still a youth, and he apprenticed himself to another person of the same occupation. The master was poor, and the apprentice, of course, still poorer; the former failed, and was, we believe, sent to jail, and the latter, almost destitute of clothes, was again turned out, without a friend, into the street. His appearance was so squalid, that no respectable mechanic would employ him, and he wandered about the city for several days, cold and hungry, procuring barely enough to prolong existence, by doing little errands on a wharf.

In this condition, to cover his nakedness, he stole an old coat out of an entry. In one of the pockets, there was, unfortunately, a pocket-book, containing a considerable sum of money. This discovery alarmed the poor boy. To return it would have been to confess the robbery. To keep it was to render apprehension almost certain. While deliberating with himself what he should do, he was arrested, immediately convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in a common jail. Here he found himself consigned to the same apartment with three pirates, one of whom was afterwards executed, and the other two doubtless deserved execution. These wretches spent their time in instilling into the mind of this boy every sentiment of hatred against society. They taught him how to steal, and assured him, that the pleasantest life which he could choose was a life of dishonesty and robbery. They assured him, that he ought to make society pay for its cruelty to him; that occasions for successful theft were of every day's occurrence; and that he would thus become a gentleman more readily than in any other manner.

The poor child was too easily persuaded. He entered the prison, honest in principle. He left it, determined upon being a villain. For weeks he was prowling about the city in search of some opportunity of theft; but he found these much less frequent than he had been led to suppose. He obtained, by doing odd jobs, barely sufficient to purchase food; and slept on cellar-doors, or in any hiding-place which

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the streets afforded. Having been in jail, he dared not apply to any respectable mechanic for work; and, as the cold weather approached, his situation became almost desperate. He was perfectly prepared to commit an offence which would send him to prison, "for then," said he, "I should be certain of having a place to sleep in at night."

In this state of mind, he was met by an old house-breaker, who immediately engaged him to rob a store. The robbery was successfully accomplished, and the booty secured. A reward was offered for the detection of the thief. A compromise was effected between the owners of the property, the managing robber, and the police officer; a large part of the stolen goods was returned, and the remainder shared between the old offender and an accomplice, while this young man, who had been merely a tool in the transaction, was delivered over to justice. We need not add, that he was speedily convicted, and sentenced for a term of several years to confinement in the State-prison.

Several of the first months of this confinement were passed in solitude. It was midwinter. The room to which he was consigned was unglazed; his bed was a bunk filled with straw, and his covering a single blanket. It happened, that, on several occasions, he awoke in the morning and found himself covered with snow from the open window. His food was insufficient in quantity and poor in quality; and his health soon began to decline. Frequently he was obliged to lie with his limbs folded together during the whole day and night, for the sake of husbanding the vital warmth, until, even after being taken out, he was for some time unable to stand upright. During this sad period, "My feelings," said he, "were continually vibrating between two extremes. Sometimes I felt myself injured; though I knew I had done wrong, yet I was conscious I did not deserve such protracted misery, and I could not help weeping over my situation. Then, again, I would feel that this was not manly, and I would brace myself to bear it without flinching, determined, that, if I ever was set at liberty, the world should pay dearly for its treatment of me." These latter feelings gradually strengthened with time, and at the close of the term of solitary confinement had formed themselves into a habit.

When this melancholy half year had elapsed, he was turned loose into unrestrained intercourse with men who had,

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themselves, undergone a similar training. He described the prison at large as a perfect pandemonium, where every evil passion of the human heart was cultivated to terrible luxuriance. "I do not believe," said he, "that there was a man there, who would have hesitated for a moment to commit murder, were it not from the fear of detection. I myself have frequently been guilty of murder in my heart." The only feeling possessed by the convicts in common, was, hatred against society, and a determination to be avenged upon it, if ever they had again the opportunity. To accomplish this purpose, they were willing, at all times to combine together. Those who entered, were always ready to make known to those about to go out any peculiar facilities, with which they were acquainted, for depredation. They assisted each other in forming plans and in fabricating tools, and thus, on several occasions, it was commonly known in the prison, that a murder or robbery was to be perpetrated, some days before the occurrence took place. No one who knew of the existence of such designs dared to reveal them; for he was well assured, that, in case it were found out, he would inevitably be assassinated by some of the desperadoes by whom he was surrounded.

This was the manner in which, only a few years since, an enlightened community was laboring, at great expense, to diminish the amount of crime by which it was afflicted. The account above given is related from memory; but it is, in all its important features, presented as we received it. It had, at the time, every appearance of truth and naturalness; and we have had no reason, from any subsequent investigations, to question the veracity of our informant.

We need not ask, whether there can be any thing more weak or more wicked, than such a system as this. So far from having a tendency to *diminish* crime, its tendency is directly to *increase* it. Prisons, of every kind, were nurseries of vice; seminaries, in which criminals could select and educate their associates, and in which the whole society of criminals became bound to each other by a perverted moral sympathy, and by a language of words and symbols, known to themselves, but unknown to all the rest of the world. The weakness of such a system was paralleled only by its wickedness. What can be more inexcusably culpable, than for the intelligent, responsible citizens of a free country to suffer such abominations to go on, year after year, uncor-

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rected? What can be more wantonly cruel, than, for a single and, it may be, a venial offence, thus to consign a fellow man, without the hope of forgiveness, to a mode of punishment, which, unless a miracle prevent, must "destroy both soul and body in hell"? We have all heard of the Spaniard, who, having disarmed his enemy, obliged him, on condition that his life should be spared, to renounce his religion and blaspheme his Redeemer, and then deliberately plunged his sword into his bosom, saying, that it would have been a poor revenge merely to put him to death; he had now insured his eternal damnation. We would, of course, by no means intimate, that sentiments thus vindictive have given rise to the old methods of prison discipline; but we do say, that, in result, the analogy between the two cases is much more exact than we wish it were. There is, at any rate, sufficient similarity to remind us, that the evils springing from want of consideration are frequently as great as those arising from deliberate wickedness.

The praise of making the first effort to arouse the public mind in this country to the enormity of this evil must, without doubt, be awarded to the citizens of Philadelphia, a city always forward in every effort to promote the happiness, or alleviate the sufferings of man. On the 7th of February, 1776, an association was formed, denominated "The Philadelphia Society for assisting Distressed Prisoners." During the American Revolution, when Philadelphia was in the power of the enemy, this society seems to have been suspended or dissolved. On the 8th of May, 1787, some of its surviving members formed another association, under the name of "The Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons."

"This useful and unassuming body," says Mr. Smith, "is the parent of all the societies, which have since been formed for similar purposes, in Europe and this country. It has, perhaps, effected more for the *permanent* benefit of mankind, than any of the meritorious charities of this city of benevolence. It has the enviable fame of being the first to reduce the humane and philosophic theory of preventive and reforming punishments, by the *separate* confinement and *instruction* of prisoners, to the unerring test of successful experiment." — p. 7.

The labors of this Society have been principally confined to the State of Pennsylvania. It investigated the condition

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of prisons throughout that State, laid them, from time to time, before the legislature and the public, and desisted not until it had procured the adoption of that system of criminal jurisprudence and prison discipline, which has since been known as the *Pennsylvania system.*

The other association, and that on which the greater share of the labor in this cause has of late years fallen, is the "Prison Discipline Society" of Boston. This society was organized in Boston, June 30th, 1825. Its first annual Report bears date June 2d, 1826. Since its formation, it has published thirteen annual Reports, forming together a volume of twelve hundred and thirty-four closely printed octavo pages. These Reports, we venture to say, furnish a mass of facts and statistics respecting prisons, and the various subjects connected with criminal jurisprudence, of greater value than can be found in any other works at present in the English language. By correspondence, it annually collects all the most important information to be gained on this subject; and, by means of its secretary, it visits frequently all the prisons in the northern and middle states. Indeed, when we consider the very small expenditure of the Society, and the improvements in prisons and prison discipline which it has originated, not only in the United States and the Canadas, but also in Europe, we look at it as a striking illustration of the power for good which Divine Providence has conferred upon man. This society has not expended more than about three thousand dollars per annum; and yet, besides stereotyping all its reports, sustaining its secretary, and assisting in the support of several State-prison chaplains, it has spread before every man in the community the means of forming a judgment on this important question, and has brought about a radical change in the management of prisons in about half of the States in the Union. Nor is all this the whole, or even the half, of the benefit which has thus been conferred upon the community. It is now universally *acknowledged*, that the treatment of prisoners is a matter into which every virtuous member of society is bound to make inquiry; that the attempt to reform criminals is not by any means hopeless; and that it is incumbent on every political society to form for itself a system of criminal jurisprudence, which, by laboring for the reformation of all classes of offenders, shall reduce the actual amount of crime within the narrowest possible limits.

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And here it would be unjust to pass to a consideration of other topics, without adding a word respecting the labors of the Reverend Louis Dwight, the founder, and from its commencement the secretary and agent, of this society. Five years after closing his theological studies, this gentleman devoted himself to the cause of the prisoners in the United States. He has personally visited and inspected almost all the prisons in the land, examined convicts, conversed with officers, exposed abuses, encouraged well-doing, sought out plans for building, collected statistics, carried on a very extensive and frequently harassing correspondence, and, in a word, has given himself up, body and soul, to the cause of the lunatic, the debtor, and the criminal. And all this has been done with so little parade, that we presume a large portion of our readers have never yet heard the name of Louis Dwight. We mention these facts, by no means for the sake of lauding this gentleman, or those associated with him. They are very far above any such reward. We do it to show how much good can be effected at a very trifling expense, and without either agitation, vituperation, or abuse. This society has not existed in vain, if it has done nothing else than demonstrate the truth, that good may be done to mankind without calling to the aid of benevolence a single ferocious passion of the human heart, or gratifying in a single bosom the love of slander and detraction.

But to return. The first effort of both of these associations was, of course, to investigate the condition of prisons in this country. To the results of this investigation we have already alluded. The whole system was found too bad to be any longer tolerated. The first consequence of this exposure was, the universal conviction, in the breast of every thoughtful man, that a total change must, in some manner, be effected. We think that no one can have read even the few remarks on this subject in the beginning of the present article, without being persuaded, that a universal and radical reform in the treatment of criminals is the imperative duty of every community in which such abuses are even liable to exist. Let us then, if possible, illustrate some of the fundamental principles, on which any correct system of prison discipline must proceed.

It is granted on all hands to be unfortunately the fact, that no society has ever existed, for any considerable period

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without suffering severely from the crimes of its members. Offences against persons and property are matters of constant occurrence; and that society is the furthest advanced in civilization, in which the arrangements are the most perfect for the prevention, the detection, and the punishment, of transgression. Crime must be arrested, or society could not exist. Did not the public undertake to do justice to the injured or defrauded, every man must either suffer from the infliction of unrestrained wrong, or else he must rely for protection and redress upon his own arm; that is, we must go back from the civilized to the savage state.

The innocent must, then, be protected, and wrongs must, as far as possible, be prevented and redressed; and this must be done, not by the injured individual himself, but by society, interposing in his behalf. But how far may society go, in this matter of prevention and protection? We answer, in the abstract, just so far as may be necessary to secure its own well-being. The existence of society must be preserved; for, society being abolished, the individuals would perish. Hence the authority of society to punish must be as great as the necessities of society may require. We see no other rule than this, which can be adopted. For, if the power of punishment is given to society for the purpose of preserving its own existence, all the power necessary to the securing of this result must be granted also.

But, while all this is true, it is also true, that every human being is an intelligent and moral creature of God, as capable as we of the highest mental developement, and of the most transcendent attainments in holiness. He was formed in the image of God; and, sadly as that image may have been defaced, it still is capable of being restored in all its primitive effulgence. And more than this; the vilest criminal is a brother, whom the God and Father of us all, has, on peril of his displeasure, commanded us to respect, to pity, and to love. No injury, which our fellow-man can inflict upon us, absolves us from the obligation to cherish towards him those sentiments, which are enjoined by the authority of our Father who is in heaven. Hence, in the treatment of our fellow-men, we are never allowed to cherish the least sentiment of vindictiveness, but are, on the contrary, commanded to act upon the principles of the highest benevolence, that so we may be the children of Him who causeth his sun to shine on the

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evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain upon the just and upon the unjust.

Now this last principle evidently modifies the preceding. While, in the treatment of criminals, we have the authority to do whatever may be necessary to preserve the existence and well-being of society, we are yet under a solemn obligation to accomplish this purpose in such manner as shall consist with a perfectly charitable and merciful temper towards the offender. And hence the most perfect system of prison discipline must be that, which most successfully accomplishes both of these objects ; that is to say, which provides most carefully for the security of society, and, at the same time, most sedulously watches over the welfare of the criminal.

Now a system, which aims at the social and moral reformation of the criminal, actually fulfils both of these indications. In the first place, to a thoroughly vicious mind, no punishment is so dreadful as that inflicted by conscience ; and the bringing of a man within the teachings of conscience is the principal means on which we rely for accomplishing his reformation. Hence it is found, that no place is so much shunned, by a decidedly bad man, as a reformatory prison. And, on the contrary, if a criminal be not habitually vicious, but have been led astray by the violence of sudden temptation, this punishment will be comparatively light. In this manner, from the nature of the case, a system of gradation is adjusted in such a way, that the most guilty suffer most severely, while the comparatively innocent will suffer only in their due proportion.

But this is not all. By imprisoning a man, and degrading him, and riveting upon him every vicious habit, and then releasing him, what have we gained in the prevention of crime ? Merely this ; that, of the lawless ruffians who prey upon society, we detain in custody a small number, for a limited time, and then release them, at the expiration of their sentence, tenfold more wicked, more adroit, more resolute, and under better organization, than before. This, manifestly, has the *least possible* tendency, either to eradicate, or even to prevent crime. While, on the contrary, if we aim at reformation, if we render every man who is convicted of crime a better man, if we discharge every criminal with a better disciplined conscience, and more active social sympathies, than he

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had before, the tendency clearly is, to the indefinite diminution of crime, if not to the eradication of it altogether. And, if this be so, it is evident, that that system of prison discipline will be the best, which the most successfully labors to reform the convict. It will best secure society from aggression ; and it must be admitted, that it is, without controversy, the most benevolent ; for its object is, to deliver the man from the greatest possible calamity, vicious habits and a vicious character.

But suppose it granted, that the reformation of criminals ought to be the paramount object in a system of prison discipline ; it is yet to be inquired, in what manner may we most successfully accomplish this object. Let us then ask, in the first place, What change do we desire to produce ? The answer is obvious ; we wish to induce a fellow-man to break off from the practice of crime, and to do this from moral principle. This alone will enable us to rely, with confidence, upon the reformation which we may hope to have effected. What are the elements in the man's character, by operating upon which, we may hope to secure this result ?

1. The human being is endowed with self-love, by which he is inclined towards that which he sees to be for his own interest. He should, then, be distinctly taught that, by a life of crime, he injures himself, and that thus, on the ground of selfish calculation, a life of innocence is really to be preferred. Hence, the accommodations, provisions, attentions, &c. of a prison should not be so good as the same amount of labor would procure elsewhere. Whatever is necessary to maintain the "*mens sana in corpore sano*," but nothing, or very little more, should be provided. Were a prison rendered a *desirable* place, it could never be employed as a means of reformation. It is manifest, that any amount of intellectual cultivation, which would enable a criminal to perceive clearly his own interest, would conduce to the same result.

2. The man has a conscience, by which he becomes sensible to his obligations both to God and man ; by which also he is prompted to the right, and deterred from the wrong ; and by which, the doing of the one is a source of pleasure, and the doing of the other a source of pain. This monitor within his bosom has been so long neglected, that its voice is weak and its impulses intermittent. It is necessary that

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it regain its rightful supremacy, so that it may promptly and efficiently teach the man to detest what is wrong, and to love what is right. In order to accomplish this in the most successful manner, several points must be attended to. In the first place, the man has probably been for years under the influence of passions rendered ungovernable by habitual intemperance and uninterrupted vicious association. He must, then, be removed as far as possible from every such excitement. His diet should be nutritious, but not stimulating. Nothing that can intoxicate, or that can recall the remembrance of intoxication (as tobacco for instance), should enter the walls of the prison. There should be no noise, no altercation, no loud speaking, no exhibition of excited passion; but all should be calm and voiceless as the movement of the spheres.

In the next place, since much of every man's wickedness is to be traced to intercourse with the wicked, this cause of contamination is to be removed. The prisoners, instead of being allowed to confer with each other on any subject whatever, should be kept in ignorance of each other's history, and be deprived of the opportunity of forming each other's acquaintance. But, inasmuch as reflection on moral subjects is always most effective and disciplinary in solitude, a considerable portion of every criminal's time, while in prison, should be spent in a solitary cell. Here memory must do its office; reason will make her voice to be heard; and instruction will be enforced with tenfold authority by the monitions of conscience, awakening remorse for the past, and pointing with awful distinctness to the retributions of the future.

But, were this all, only half of our work would be done. The man might be miserable, overwhelmed with anguish, and yet be unreclaimed. We are bound to give him all necessary means of spiritual consolation. The Bible should be placed in his cell, and a faithful, benevolent, and discreet religious teacher should be provided for him. Opportunities should be afforded him of conversing alone with his spiritual guide, and thus all the agencies should be employed, which we could in any case use, for restoring a fallen human being to virtue. It is needless to say, that, if he be ignorant, he should be instructed, at least so far as to read the Bible, and such works as may be put into his hands by those who are laboring for his good.

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3. When we have convinced a man, that it is for his interest to be virtuous, and have also taught him to detest vice and to love virtue, his moral reformation is in fact completed. Still, in going abroad into the world, he is liable to temptations. We must strive, so far as may be in our power, to guard him against them.

The ever-acting and the strongest temptation that can assail a man, is that arising from physical want. Let a man be perishing with hunger, or, if not actually perishing, let him be suffering from want, and, still more, let his family be suffering with him, and let the means of relief be placed before him, guarded only by the moral principle within his breast, and the trial is commonly too severe for frail human nature. Especially may we suppose, that this will be the case, when, by former habit of crime, a man's moral principles have sustained a rude and lacerating concussion. Now, in order to save a man from so sore a trial, we must put it in his power, so far as we are able, to set absolute want at defiance. We do this when we teach him a trade, and by regular, daily labor, inure him to habits of industry and thrift. He who is able and willing to labor at any mechanical business, except from sickness or other providence of God, never need be in want. Against the dangers from intemperance and vicious associations, of course we cannot protect him. Here he must be left to himself, to work out his probation unassisted. But, in this respect, he is only in the same situation with others; and, if we have placed him in as good condition for well-doing as his brethren, we have done all that either justice or benevolence can demand.

In order, however, to render the measure of our beneficence complete, we ought, perhaps, to proceed a single step further. When a man leaves a penitentiary, after a confinement of several years, he finds himself in a considerable degree a stranger, and especially a stranger among the virtuous. He can offer no recommendations except those from the prison, and such would commonly do him more harm than good. He may be at a distance from home, and it will cost more than he possesses to restore him to those who would take an interest in his future welfare. Under these circumstances, unable to obtain work, he is liable to become depressed in spirits, and to be driven almost immediately into the company of his former associates. This moral danger ought to be

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provided for. In some prisons a suit of new clothes, and sometimes a small sum of money also, is given to the convict on his discharge. This is well, as far as it goes. But it is to be remembered, that two or three dollars is a very slender fortune to a degraded and isolated stranger. It is very desirable, that some provision be made for the employment of convicts, at reasonable wages, as soon as they leave the prison. They would thus have an opportunity, at once, of reaping the advantage of the habits of industry which they had acquired. They would thus taste, and many of them for the first time, the high consciousness of a virtuous independence. This one experiment would, in many instances, be decisive of character. It would stamp them resolutely virtuous men through life. Nor is this all. Men who would not employ a workman coming immediately from prison, would willingly employ him after he had spent a month or two in this sort of probation. The advantage would thus be manifold. Every convict would be enabled on his release to support himself, to show himself worthy to enter the society of the virtuous, and thus to regain the reputation which he had lost; and, besides this, the course of every individual could be thus the more distinctly traced, so that the benevolent could the better follow him with their encouragements and warnings, and the legislator, by observing more accurately his subsequent life, would be able the better to modify the system of criminal law and of penitentiary discipline.

If such principles should direct us in the treatment of criminals, — and we see not how reasonable men can entertain a doubt on the subject, — it will follow, that arrangements should be made in every community for carrying them into practical operation. The subjects of prison discipline, amongst us, are debtors, children and youth, adult offenders, and discharged convicts. Let us briefly inquire, what arrangements the principles just unfolded would teach us to be necessary, in order to provide for the proper treatment of each of these classes of our unfortunate fellow-men.

1. A large portion of the unhappy inmates of our common prisons are debtors, held in bondage and in idleness for very small sums, and held there commonly from spite. It is not our intention, in this place, to discuss the subject of imprisonment for debt. We have not space to con-

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sider it as its importance deserves. We will only say, that we presume there is scarcely an individual in favor of this relic of a barbarous age, who has ever made himself acquainted with the facts in the case. As a means of collecting debts it is manifestly almost wholly useless; for those on whom it is inflicted, are commonly the abject poor. It deprives the laborer of the use of his time, and therefore plunges him more deeply in embarrassment. It accustoms him to the society of the vicious, and inures him to habits of idleness; and is thus the fruitful parent of crime. In short, let the subject be considered dispassionately, in any view in which it can be presented, and we are sure, that every thoughtful person will earnestly desire the total abandonment of the system.

While we speak thus, we wish it to be understood, that we are moved to these opinions by no mawkish sensibility. We believe as much as other persons in obliging men to pay their debts. We will cheerfully uphold any system which really aids in the enforcement of contracts. But when a man has nothing to pay, of what use can it be to lock him up in idleness? If the object be to reform him, what possible means are taken to accomplish such a result? If he have property or friends, he can easily obtain the freedom of the limits, and is thus scarcely conscious of restraint; while, if he be poor, forsaken, or friendless, he must bide, at the will of his creditor, the filthiness and vice and loathsomeness of a dungeon. We say again, if the morality of debtors requires to be quickened by penal law, let a law be devised that shall really meet the exigencies of the case; but let us not, under cover of such intention, retain a system, by common consent, almost inoperative for the enforcement of contracts, and yet liable to be employed as an instrument of the most revolting tyranny and the most atrocious malice. At the present time, to suffer this subject to remain without examination is wholly inexcusable. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished in several States of the Union, and the statistics of commitments for debt are published. The results of the different systems can be very easily collated and compared. If, with all this information at hand, legislators are contented to suffer the evils of imprisonment for debt to exist within their jurisdiction, they must certainly stand convicted of a gross violation

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of the obligations which they assumed when they accepted their official trust.

2. With these remarks we take leave of debtors, and turn our attention to those who are more properly criminals. Among these, the most obvious distinction which presents itself, is that between the sexes. Female convicts should manifestly be under the care of women. They should be placed under regulations, in many respects different from those to which the other sex is subjected; the discipline of their prison should be milder; and more should be left to the influence of personal kindness, than would be wise in the treatment of men.

3. The next important distinction between offenders is that of age. A large proportion of the crimes against society is committed by children and youth from eight to fifteen years of age. It is obvious, that the treatment proper for such offenders must be very different from that demanded by the hardened criminal.

Of the children and youth who have exposed themselves to the penalties of the law, a large number have been entirely destitute of all moral and religious instruction. Some of them have even been taught dishonest practices by their parents. Others are desperately poor, and have never enjoyed an opportunity of earning their own subsistence by becoming apprentices. Others again may have pilfered from mere recklessness, as a matter of foolish sport. Some, the children of honest parents, have been suffered to grow up in uncontrolled indulgence, and find their inclinations for the first time checked when the hand of the constable is laid upon their shoulder. No parent can for a moment doubt, that, of such young persons, a large proportion might, by a system adapted to their condition, be radically reformed. But it is obvious, that the system suitable for such offenders would be very different from that required for hardened criminals. It must be parental, flexible, educational, encouraging. It will, therefore, evidently demand an establishment for itself.

4. Adult offenders may be divided into two classes; those confined in county jails for detention, or lodged there as a punishment for minor offences; and those who, for graver crimes, are sent for longer periods to the State-prison, or general penitentiary. Although, from the necessity of the case, separate prisons are appropriated to these two classes

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of persons, yet they are, in principle, so nearly alike, that they may be considered as substantially the same.

Besides these, as we have remarked, the necessities of criminals require, that there should be attached to each prison an establishment, at which the released convict might be provided with profitable labor, and through the medium of which he might be the more readily restored to a position in reputable society.

If the above remarks be correct, it will appear evident, that every community requires three classes of establishments for the treatment of criminal offenders. 1st. Houses of reformation for juvenile delinquents. Excellent institutions of this kind exist in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. 2d. Penitentiaries for the punishment and reformation of adult offenders; these are either county jails, or State penitentiaries. And, lastly, with these should be connected, as we have just remarked, workshops, at which the convict, upon his discharge, could immediately find profitable employment, and also be enabled to gain whatever reputation his character may deserve.

If it be said, that the expense of all this would be greater than the community would endure, we reply, that it is for its very economy that we recommend it. Should such a system prove as reformatory as we think there is reason to expect, though the whole expense were borne by the community, it would be a truly economical expenditure. But we do not believe, that a complete series of arrangements, such as we have suggested, would, together, cost any thing more than the first investment; nay, we believe, that the whole together would, if well managed, defray the interest on the capital employed in their erection. Penitentiaries, which used to be so great a public charge, can, it is well known, be made to support themselves, and at the same time the inmates be better provided for, more cheerful, and in better health, than formerly.

We grant, that the house of reformation for juvenile offenders would not pay its expenses, as the labor of children is of very small value. But the prisons for adults, and the establishments for employing convicts after their discharge, ought to do more than support themselves. There is surely no reason, why three or four hundred able-bodied men, kept diligently at work, should not, in this country, where wages are

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so high, both support themselves, and also yield a handsome profit to their employer. The new State-prison at Weathersfield was first occupied October 1st, 1827. The cost of the buildings and grounds was $42,281·27. A second prison was erected in 1835, at a cost of $3,320·91; the total cost of both being $45,602·18. In ten years, this prison, besides paying for all its own expenses of management, subsistence, &c., has actually refunded to the State, or accumulated, the whole cost of these buildings and grounds, and had at the last-mentioned date, March 31st, 1838, $10,746·47, balance in its favor. We see, therefore, that the prison discipline of Connecticut, for the last ten years, has actually cost the State nothing, and will hereafter yield a handsome revenue. We are not informed, that there is any thing peculiarly favorable to profit in the situation of this prison. That the convicts are not overworked, is evident from the fact, that they are unusually healthy. We believe, that what is done there, may be done elsewhere. It always seems to us, that there must be something wrong, either in the construction or management of a prison, which does not more than support itself. A searching investigation into the condition of expensive prisons, has generally detected some fault capable of being remedied.*

We are inclined to believe, that the profits of the penitentiary would commonly be sufficient to support the house of refuge for juvenile delinquents. The labor of the old offender would thus defray the expense of the reformation of the youthful culprit. Were this insufficient, the sums collected from licenses for retailing spirituous liquors might be applied to the same purpose. It is surprising how little it costs to do good, if we really set ourselves to the work in the right way. When a series of establishments, such as we have mentioned, is provided and well conducted, then, and not till then, shall we be able to determine how nearly it is possible to approximate to the total suppression of crime in a civilized and Christian country.

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* Under the old system of discipline, at the Newgate Prison, Connecticut, for the three years and a half next preceding 1827, the cost to the public of the concern, over and above all earnings, was . . $80,500·00
Profits of new prison for same space of time, . . 51,333·63

The total saving to the State, in nine years and a half, by substituting a good for a bad system of prison discipline, $131,833·63

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It would well repay the labor, could we enter at large upon the best method of conducting these different kinds of schools for reformation. It is possible, that, on some future occasion, we may lay before our readers a summary of what has been done for the reformation of juvenile delinquents, and what is necessary at present to be done for the reformation of county prisons, and the providing of places of labor for discharged convicts. A few reflections on the system of State-prison discipline must, however, close this article, already, we fear, too far extended.

It is necessary to remark, at the outset, that a difference of opinion has for some years existed, between the friends of the Philadelphia and Boston societies, as to the best method of accomplishing their common object. As this difference is so constantly adverted to by all the writers on this subject, and as many of the pamphlets, which are named at the head of this article, are written with special reference to it, it is necessary that we set before our readers such a statement of the facts and reasonings in the case, as may enable them, in the best manner, to form a judgment on the question for themselves.

In all the more important points, in the *theory* of prison discipline, the Philadelphia and the Boston societies perfectly agree. For instance, it is conceded by both, that the great object of any penitentiary system should be the reformation of the prisoner; and that, in laboring for his reformation, we should make our appeal to his self-interest, and to his conscience; that we should endeavour to give him such habits as will remove him as far as possible from temptation, and enable him most successfully to resist it, when it shall happen to overtake him. Thus it is granted, that the treatment of the prisoner should be kind, but strict; that, being placed in solitude for a sufficient portion of the time, and at all times precluded from social intercourse with those who would corrupt him, conscience may be left to exert its full power over the mind of the criminal; that he should be instructed in his duty to God and man by a competent religious teacher; that he should be taught some mechanical trade, by which he may always be enabled honestly to support himself; and that, finally, he should be dismissed under such circumstances, as will be most likely to encourage and sustain him in a course of well-doing. It is certainly

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a great point gained when the friends of prison discipline are so heartily united on the whole theory of this important question.

These two societies, whether fortunately or unfortunately the event must determine, fell upon different plans for carrying into effect the same object. Both systems cannot, it is true, be the best, yet the public may derive an important benefit from comparing the results of both, and from being enabled to decide from the observation of two experiments instead of one.

The Philadelphia Society, aware of the sad effect of intercourse between prisoners, directed their attention mainly to the removal of this evil, absolutely and for ever; believing that, if this could be done, the reformation of the prisoner, if not perfectly certain, would be, at least, comparatively easy. With this view, they laid their plans of reform before the legislature of Pennsylvania, and procured their ultimate adoption. In accordance with their suggestions, two very extensive prisons were erected, the one at Pittsburg, called the Western, and the other at Philadelphia, called the Eastern Penitentiary. From the fact, that uninterrupted solitude was here first employed as a means of reformation, the system has been commonly known as the Pennsylvania system. In a few words it is simply this. Every prisoner is lodged in a separate cell, of comfortable size; and he remains in it, both day and night, during the whole period of his confinement. To some of the cells was at first attached a yard, in which the prisoner might take exercise in the open air, for an hour in the day; but we believe, that this part of the plan has been abandoned. The prisoner is furnished with work at any trade with which he is acquainted, and, if he is acquainted with none, he is immediately instructed. He is well supplied with food, clothing, and bedding; his cell is kept comfortably warm; and he is always furnished with a Bible. In addition to this, it is intended that the warden, or a religious teacher, shall frequently converse with him on his duties to God and man; but that no other person, except an inspector, shall ever see him or hold intercourse with him. He sees no other prisoner, and is seen by none. He is not to know even the occupant of the next cell; and thus, though he were confined with five hundred at the same time, there would be no more danger of his being misled by them during

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his imprisonment or afterwards, than if they had never been within the prison walls together.

The other society, very soon after its organization, fell upon a different plan. This plan was, in this country, first put in practice in the State-prison at Auburn, New York; and hence has been frequently called the Auburn system.

In the Auburn system, the prisoners are all provided with separate cells, in which *they sleep and take their meals.* They are not allowed to speak, or to communicate by signs, with each other, although they work together during the day, under the care of their keepers. They meet in the chapel, in the morning and evening, for the daily reading of the Scriptures and for devotion, and spend the Sabbath day either in solitude, in Sabbath schools, in Bible classes, or in the usual services of religious worship. In other words, this system enforces solitude at night, and joint labor by day, yet labor in silence and without communication; and also allows the convicts to meet together for the purposes of religious instruction. Each society strenuously asserts that *its* mode is preferable. We propose to compare these systems in some of their most important particulars, giving the facts on both sides with all the impartiality of which we are capable.

The essential difference between these two systems is, that the one insists upon *total*, and the other upon only *partial* solitude; in the one case, the prisoners are *always* in the solitary cell, in the other they are there only *for the night.* The friends of the Pennsylvania system assert, that it is possible to construct prisons in such manner as to insulate men perfectly; and that prisons, constructed as they shall recommend, will so insulate them. This being taken for granted, they assert, that from this total insulation several important benefits follow, which are unattainable under any other system. Among these are the following;

1. By effectually preventing contamination within the prison, it enables the convict to return to society without having formed any new associates in crime;

2. By giving to the monitions of conscience and the advice of friends their full effect, it presents the best opportunity of reclaiming the criminal;

3. As it never requires the infliction of severe punishments, it is the more merciful;

4. It executes itself, and therefore its success does not so

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much depend upon the character of the persons who may be chosen to administer it.

To this the friends of the other society reply, briefly, as follows;

1. That the insulation, which the Pennsylvania system asserts to be necessary for the production of the above effects, is not attainable; or, at any rate, has never yet been attained.

2. That, whether attainable or not, this system, in *its practical results*, in every point of view in which it may be examined, is inferior to the Auburn system; and

3. That, even were its advantages superior, its expensiveness is so great, that there is no ground for hope that it will be universally adopted; and they offer to decide the controversy by the facts in the case. And here issue is joined.

The first question to be considered manifestly is, the practicability of the system of entire insulation. It is, in fact, no other than this; Has any mode of construction been thus far devised, which does effectually prevent convicts, confined in adjoining cells, from holding communication with each other? Let us examine the evidence, on this, certainly a leading point in the case.

1. In respect to the *Western* Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, it is acknowledged by the Committee of the House of Representatives, so late as 1837, that "the defects of the construction of the prison were so great, as to admit of *almost unlimited communication between the cells.* Prisoners were, *in no instance* (when the committee asked the question) ignorant of the *name*, *crime*, *sentence*, *time of liberation* of each other, &c., and, in some instances, were even able to give other information, which it appeared highly *improper for them to possess.*" This evil, the committee say, can, at some expense, be remedied. (*Report of Committee*, p. 4.) Mr. Harvey Newcomb, who was an officer in the Western Penitentiary, from April, 1833, to August, 1835, in a letter in the Twelfth Report of the Prison Discipline Society remarks;

"Until the convicts were introduced into their cells, *every one connected with the prison* esteemed the new system as approaching *to perfection;* but the experiment proved, I believe, to the satisfaction *of all*, that the attempt to prevent the communication of sound was a complete failure. For myself, I consider it a physical impossibility so to construct a range of cells, as to answer the purpose of *constant confinement*, with

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suitable apparatus for ventilation, heating, and cleanliness, without affording facilities for conversation between the prisoners; and I believe this to have been the opinion of the warden and overseers at the time I was connected with that prison. For ventilation, there must be an opportunity for air to pass into the cells and to escape; and where *air will pass, sound will pass.*"

The Western penitentiary was acknowledged to be defective, and it has been supposed that the errors in its construction were remedied in the construction of the *Eastern Penitentiary*. Yet this seems not to have been the case. In 1835, a committee of the legislature was appointed to visit this institution, and, in the report of the minority of that committee, the following statement is found;

"In the course of the investigation, the committee observed an important defect in the construction of the sewer, or privy pipes, by means of which the convicts were enabled to communicate with each other. This defect was well nigh proving fatal to the institution, inasmuch as a *general insurrection* had been concerted by the convicts, and was *on the point of breaking out*, when it was discovered by the vigilance of the warden, and frustrated by his energy and decision."

It is evident from these facts, that there exists, at best, *great difficulty* in preventing communication between convicts in adjoining cells; and it is reasonable to suppose, that the officers of these prisons were aware of this difficulty, and were anxious to remedy it. It seems, however, extremely doubtful, whether, as yet, their efforts have been crowned with success. In the appendix to the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society, we observe the testimony of Charles Robbins, Esquire, who visited several of these penitentiaries as lately as May, of the last year. His testimony is to the following effect. In the new (or Eastern) Penitentiary, "there *is no difficulty* in communicating, through the pipes. I was informed by the keepers, that they talk in this way frequently; and also, by removing the plastering around the heated pipes, through the partition walls." "I asked the keeper what their conversation was; he said it was *low, vulgar, obscene* language." Respecting the Pittsburg Penitentiary, the testimony is as follows. "I asked the keeper whether there was any communication between the prisoners. He said, 'Very little; they talk together some-

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times.' He said, it was almost impossible to prevent it, 'to build a cell so but what they would communicate.' They are punished for it, 'by being deprived of their meals, put into a *dark cell,* a *strait jacket*, or into a box just large enough to put a man in. The box stands on its end, and is so fixed that a man cannot lean one way or the other; and, to *prevent their kneeling*, *there is a piece of hard wood or iron put through the box, to strike their shins.*" The *House of Detention in New York* was built, we understand, upon the Philadelphia plan, and was completed very lately. Mr. Robbins visited this; and in reply to the question, whether there was any *doubt* about communication, the answer was, "*None at all. It is a total failure* in that respect. The keeper of this prison told me, that the prisoners made such a noise, the night previous, that he could not sleep. There is a continual noise he says, and no peace whatever." The whole of this testimony is very valuable, and deserves to be carefully studied by every one interested concerning this question.

We shall close our extracts on this point, by a quotation from the pamphlet of Dr. Lieber, a warm friend of the Pennsylvania system.

"I once found a prisoner in the Philadelphia Penitentiary, who told me, that it was music *to his ears* to hear *the shuttle* of his neighbour, and that, *without knowing who he was*, he used to vie with him in the swiftness of using it. I once heard, in visiting a cell, an indistinct knock against the wall, which came from the next cell. I asked what it was, and who was the neighbour? The prisoner answered *he did not know, as was the fact;* but, once in a while, his neighbour knocked, and he answered."

We cannot bring ourselves to adopt the persuasion of Dr. Lieber, that where shuttles could be heard so distinctly as to be made to vie with each other, the voice of a man could not be heard, nor can we rely with him upon the declarations of the convicts, that "*such is the fact.*" *Credat Judæus!*

So far, then, as the evidence on this subject has been presented, we are constrained to believe, that it is an extremely difficult undertaking, if indeed it be not actually impossible, to build cells in such a manner as to prevent communication. It seems to us, at best, very doubtful, whether any such cells have yet been constructed. The latest prison, on this

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plan, is that at Providence, in Rhode Island. This is exceedingly well built, the partitions being of solid stone, about two feet in thickness; but whether they will prevent communication cannot be decided, until a more complete experiment has been made. Inasmuch as the reasoning in favor of the Pennsylvania system all proceeds upon the supposition of the superior reformatory effect of *solitary* confinement, the argument is clearly inconclusive, until it can be shown, that it is practicable to render confinement solitary. If this be impossible, the whole system, so far as respects its distinctive excellence, fails.

But, supposing it possible absolutely to prevent intercourse between convicts, is perfect and unbroken solitude preferable to solitude by night and at meals, combined with joint labor by day?

Were we about to construct a prison, without being able to avail ourselves of the results of previous experience, we should be obliged to decide this question by reasoning *a priori*. But, where two modes have been tried, and their results are before us, the appeal, with men of common sense, we think, must be to *the facts in evidence*. The question, then, so far as possible, must be decided on this ground. Let us ask, in the first place, Which is the more successful as a school of reformation? In order to answer this question, efforts have been made to trace, by correspondence, the history of convicts after they have left the prison. This method has been attended with encouraging results; but yet it is too often unsuccessful to be relied on in a general estimate. It has, therefore, been commonly conceded, that a system was to be tried by the number of recommitments which it recorded. The better and the more reformatory the system, the fewer convicts would manifestly return to require the benefit of its discipline.

Judging by this test, our decision would be rather in favor of the Auburn system. By a report of the committee of the legislature of Pennsylvania, dated February 5th, 1838, it appears, that from the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary to that time, four hundred and twenty persons had been discharged and pardoned; and of these, forty-one, or one in ten and a fraction, had been recommitted. On the other hand, at Auburn, during a trial of twenty years, only one in twelve and a half has been recommitted. As the recommittals natu-

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rally grow proportionally more numerous the longer the period we include, it is reasonable to infer, if the period was longer, to which the comparison was extended, it would be still more unfavorable to the Pennsylvania system. We have reason to believe also, that, for a very considerable portion of this period, the prison at Auburn has not been a very favorable specimen of the mode of discipline, to which it has given its name. Now the above is certainly a most important fact, and one, which, as it seems to us, pierces to the very marrow of the case. If the Pennsylvania system be not *more* reformatory than the other, what are its *peculiar* advantages? Its theory may seem more beautiful; but, if that theory be not conformable to the *facts*, the theory must be false. Its buildings may be more symmetrical, and its form more imposing; but if it accomplish not its object, all this merely signifies *money thrown away*.

But it is said, that the Pennsylvania system is more *merciful;* it never requires the use of severe punishments, while the other system cannot exist without them. This assertion, however, in neither point, is sustained by evidence. It is granted, that at Auburn and at Sing Sing great severity has, at times, been used. The convicts have been frequently flogged; we very much fear, so frequently as to show that there exists incompetency somewhere in the management of these institutions. At Weathersfield, however, the lash is very rarely used. The case, we believe, is the same in the prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts. Nay, more, this system *may* be conducted successfully without the use of stripes at all.

"The House of Correction at South Boston, contains two hundred and fifty prisoners. It has been in operation for five years, and, thus far, stripes have not been inflicted in a solitary instance. There are only nine keepers, including the master, clerk, and three matrons. There is neither gun, bayonet, sword, pistol, cowhide, cat, or whip of small cords, gag, restraining chair, hand-cuff, stocks, or any instrument of torture, restraint, or punishment, about the establishment." — *Prison Discipline Report, No.* 13.

On the other hand, we have seen, that resort has been had to severe punishments under the Pennsylvania system. We have seen (p. 34), a description of a machine which is used in the Western Penitentiary for punishment, and it is, by no

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means, a *tender* mercy. At the same prison, the strait jacket, the dark cell, deprivation of meals, and the lash, are also used. In the Eastern Penitentiary, the punishments were, at one period, such as to call for legislative inquiry. In one case, a man had died under the infliction of the gag. Another had been seriously injured by the profuse dashing of water upon him in mid winter. Other cases existed of the excessive use of the strait jacket, of bruising, and confining prisoners in dark cells with only eight ounces of bread daily. These are sufficient to show, that the solitary system is, by no means, of necessity merciful.

The fact is, that either system may be conducted mercifully ; and either may be conducted brutally. Both require a man skilled in the government of men, a mild, firm, temperate, and benevolent, yet inflexible disciplinarian. Under such a man, there will be but little suffering in either. Without such a one, in either there will be much.

If the above remarks be true, it will be immediately seen, that neither system *executes itself ;* that both are liable, perhaps equally, to abuse ; and that either will be abused without vigilant inspection. Nay, if there be any difference in this respect, we fear it will be against the solitary system ; since, under this system, cruelty may be indulged with but few witnesses, and those altogether under the influence of the oppressor.

It has been urged by the advocates of the solitary system, that, as the prisoners did not know each other in prison, their self-respect would be preserved, and also that they would not be able to recognise each other after their liberation. This appears to us somewhat more specious than solid. In the first place, the fact of this insulation is disputed, if not disproved. In the second place, the inmates of penitentiaries have served a regular apprenticeship in crime ; they have been publicly arraigned, tried, convicted, and sentenced, over and over again, in the lower courts ; and are acquainted with all the men of their own profession in the district in which they live. There are, we know, exceptions ; but such is the common fact. We cannot make men forget public and notorious transactions. What is in all the newspapers, cannot surely be a secret. We cannot make the convict forget all his old associates. It seems to us, therefore, to be assumed, that solitude can do what is mani-

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festly impossible to be done. All that can be done, in this respect, is, to prevent bad men from rendering each other worse, or from rendering the less wicked as bad as themselves. Whatever degree of solitude accomplishes this purpose, fulfils, so far as this view of the subject is concerned, all the practical indications of the case. And, besides, uninterrupted solitude, long continued, is certainly at variance with all the social instincts of our nature. The presumption is always against any system, to which the constitution of man is essentially adverse. On this point, we are, therefore, inclined to the opinion, that a system of uninterrupted solitude should not be adopted, unless it were proved necessary to reformation; inasmuch as it is at variance with the human constitution, and, in the circumstances of the case, cannot accomplish any point of special, practical utility.

Much has been said of the comparative healthiness of the two systems. It has been objected to the solitary system, that it must, of necessity, destroy the health and undermine the reason. Such was the opinion of Roscoe and Lafayette. What might be the effect of solitary confinement *without labor* we will not pretend to decide; but the danger of solitary confinement *with labor* has certainly been overrated. Still, on the score of health, the other prisons have the advantage. The percentage of deaths at the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, has been, on an average, for eight years, about $3\frac{1}{2}$; varying from $\frac{7}{8}$ of one to 6 per cent. The average of deaths at the other prisons, has been about one per cent. less, for the same time. In the report of the physician of the Eastern Penitentiary, for January, 1838, fourteen cases are recorded of *dementia*, from abuse of the person. To this vice, this mode of confinement would seem to be peculiarly liable. Just so far as this liability is greater under the solitary system than the other, it would, by so much, lead us to prefer the system of modified solitude.*

From this examination of facts, we are inclined to the opinion that, so far as the experiment has been tried, the Pennsylvania system can claim no superiority over the other. It is not *proved* to be either more reformatory, more humane, more easy of management, or more healthy. Indeed, so far

* The last and Tenth Annual Report of the New Penitentiary in Philadelphia is awful in its results. The average number of prisoners was 402; the deaths 26, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the recommittals 23; and the cases of monomania, mania, hallucination, and dementia, 18.

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as the results can be compared, it appears to be in most of these respects decidedly, though not greatly inferior.

We are next met by the question of expensiveness. Here there is nothing to be said by way of balancing arguments. The facts are, by confession, all on one side. The solitary system is vastly more expensive, whether we consider the original cost of the arrangements, or the amount required for the annual maintenance of the prisoners.

The cost of building the Eastern Penitentiary, estimated at the price *per cell*, was . . . . . $1,648·85*
At Pittsburg, ... 978·95
At Providence, (R. I.) 1,875
These are all on the Pennsylvania system.

On the other hand, the cost *per cell* of the prison at Charlestown was $286
At Sing Sing, ... 200
At Weathersfield, ... 150·86
At Baltimore, ... 146·32

The prison at Charlestown was made unnecessarily costly, the outside walls being nearly twice as thick as they need to be. The Eastern Penitentiary is also more costly in grounds, external wall, &c. than would commonly be deemed desirable. The prison at Providence was built on land unusually expensive; and we are informed, that as good a prison might be built at the cost of $1200 per cell in another situation. The Pittsburg prison is, by all acknowledgment, very imperfect, and insufficient for the purpose of isolation. Taking twelve hundred dollars as the fair price for a good and secure cell on the Pennsylvania, and one hundred and fifty as the cost of a cell on the Auburn system, we have, probably, a fair estimate of the comparative expensiveness of the two systems, so far as the building is concerned. This makes the cost as eight to one; and, if we make an allowance for error, of which, however, we are not aware, we cannot estimate the ratio lower than seven to one. When we consider that the same mode of building, if it be preferable, should also be introduced into the county jails and houses of detention, this amount of difference of expense, will make a very considerable item in the pecuniary burdens of a community.

On the question of subsequent economy, there is almost as

* The total of sums granted by the legislature for the erection of this prison is $772,600·69.

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little room for argument as on that of the original cost of erection. We regret, that on this subject the information published by the Inspectors of the Pennsylvania prisons is extremely unsatisfactory. It seems, that the salaries of all the officers are paid by the State. How nearly the labor of the prisoners pays for their food and clothing, (the capital, we believe, is furnished by the State,) we do not know. Last year, an application for a loan of $10,000 was made to the legislature, for the Eastern Penitentiary alone. The New Jersey prison earned for the year 1837, $1,741·41, above its expenses; but, whether this was inclusive of the salaries of officers, or not, we do not know. So far as we can judge, a prison on this plan could do but very little more than pay the personal expenses of prisoners. The buildings and attendance must therefore be furnished at the cost of the community. The reason of this is obvious. At solitary labor, there can be but little use of machinery, and, of course, the wages of such labor will be at the lowest rate. What wages can a weaver earn, when he has to come into competition with a power-loom? In solitude, there can be but very little division of labor, and, on this account also, there will be but comparatively small remuneration due to the labor.

It is evident, then, that the prisons which allow of joint labor by day are much the more economical. The *Weathersfield* prison, as we have stated, has paid its own current expenses, including salaries of officers and every contingency, besides accumulating or refunding to the State the whole cost of its erection, and having, in its tenth year, a balance in its favor of $10,746·17. The *average earnings* of the State prison at *Charlestown* above its expenses, for four years preceding the year 1836, were $6,371·04. In that year, 1836, they were $13,428·25. The earnings above expenses, for the year 1837, were $806·81, and in the bill of expenses were included "food, clothing, medical attendance, salary of the officers, *transportation of the prisoners from the county prisons*, and a new *suit of clothes*, and from three to five dollars in money, on the discharge of each convict." This is a less favorable result than that of the preceding year, but it was a year of great commercial embarrassment, and was also the same year, in which the Pennsylvania Penitentiary required a loan from the State of $10,000, besides the payment of the salaries of all the officers.

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We would by no means urge the consideration of expensiveness beyond its actual importance. It is, however, surely undesirable to oblige honest men to labor for rogues, any further than is absolutely necessary. It does also seem, that one or two hundred able-bodied men ought both to support themselves, and to pay for house-rent and necessary attendance. If this can be done consistently with every reasonable hope of reformation, it certainly should be attempted.

If, then, the solitary system can show no results more beneficial than the other (and, as far as we have been able to discover, it has not shown them) ; and if it be from seven to eight times as expensive in the outset, and no one knows how much more expensive in the annual outlay ; and, yet more, if its radical idea, isolation of the criminal, has not yet, with all this expense, been proved practicable ; the result, thus far, is surely in favor of the Auburn system. Which system will, in the end, prove the better, we need not predict. We decide from the facts and results before the public ; and we hesitate not to say, that we believe any unprejudiced person, who will read the evidence, will coincide with us in opinion.

We should not give so decided an opinion on a matter of this kind, were it not a question of much practical importance. Prisons are to be erected all over this country. They are costly structures at best. If they are very costly, and prove worthless, and are, besides this, a heavy annual bill of expense, there is reason to fear lest the people should tire of the whole subject, and their efforts be relaxed for the reformation of criminals. It is, however, proper to add, that, by far the greater number of those who have examined these systems, for practical purposes, have arrived at the same conclusion with ourselves. Most of the new penitentiaries in the United States have been constructed on the Auburn plan. The Committee of the legislature of Michigan have, in preference, and for reasons given, recommended its adoption in that State. The Commissioners of Upper and of Lower Canada have, after a full and mature comparison of both systems, done the same.

In conclusion, we beg leave to suggest a few remarks to the friends of reform in prison discipline in the United States.

The weak points of the Pennsylvania system are, its expensiveness, and the difficulty of effecting the actual isolation

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of prisoners. The friends of this system should direct their attention to the removal of these difficulties. When prisoners can be confined in solitude at a reasonable expense, and are enabled thus to support themselves, a fair opportunity will be afforded for testing the superiority of the solitary system. In this connexion, however, it is right that we express our regret at the manner in which this mode of prison discipline has been defended. There has been too much reasoning *a priori;* too much of taking things for granted, and this when the facts were accessible; too much arraigning of the motives of opponents, to be in entirely good taste. When the testimony before the investigating committee of 1835 had been published, we see not any good reason for using Mr. Crawford's report to prove, that the prisoners did not communicate, or that there was, under this system, no necessity for severity in punishment. The financial part of the reports of these prisons is also lamentably deficient. We defy any one to find out, from any thing that has been published, to which we have had access, what is the state of the financial concerns of either of the Pennsylvania establishments. We wonder the legislature does not take the matter in hand.

The weakest point, as it seems to us, in the other system is the liability to intercourse between the prisoners, which we think must exist, in the workshops. This might, to a much greater degree, be remedied. The workshops seem not to be built with any special intention to prevent intercourse between the prisoners. This should manifestly be a main point in their construction. They should be smaller and more numerous, and arranged with a view to the most perfect supervision. The proportion of overseers should be greater. The trades should be, as far as possible, the most noiseless, so that conversation could be most easily detected. As a prison on this plan can more than support itself, we do not perceive in what manner its surplus earnings could be better appropriated, than in rendering its physical arrangements, and its means of moral and intellectual culture, as perfectly adapted to their design as human ingenuity can make them.

Where new prisons are to be built, we conceive that several important modifications might be beneficially introduced. The walls need not be so thick as they are commonly made. The windows in the external wall should be large, for the

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purpose of securing more light and better ventilation. The door of the cell should be constructed so as to admit as much light as may be consistent with perfect security. The cell itself, it seems to us, should be larger than it is commonly made ; higher, wider, and longer, so as to admit of a little locomotion. As the labor of the prisoners will pay for house-rent, we think they should be furnished with a comfortable tenement.

Finally, it is of extreme importance for the community to be aware, that either of these systems is liable to the most serious abuses. A large number of our fellow-men are, from the necessity of the case, placed under the absolute authority of the officers of the prison. These officers must have the power to punish ; they may punish hastily, violently, tyrannically, cruelly. Much public property is placed under their control ; it may be wasted, squandered, or purloined. Nor is it enough that there be appointed inspectors over a prison. The inspectors and immediate officers may accommodate each other at the expense of the public. All these evils must be guarded against with sleepless vigilance, or a prison will become a cage of unclean birds.

To avert these evils, a few very simple measures might be adopted. For instance, every case of punishment should be recorded, the amount noted, and the reason given. This should be reported to the inspectors, and the book in which punishments are registered should be open to all the legal visitors of the prison, and capable of being used in evidence in a court of justice. This alone would be a great restraint on ill temper and tyranny. Again, the warden should be selected with great care. He should have been accustomed to the government of men, and be a man of known and tried integrity and kindness. The inspectors should be men of the highest rank in the community ; if in official station, so much the better, so that collusion with the officers would be morally impossible. There should be no entertainments, or festivities, at the prison. And still, all this will fail, unless there be provided a faithful, discreet, benevolent, religious teacher, to instruct the convicts in their duty, to warn them of the consequences of their sin, and elevate their hopes to holiness and to heaven.

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ART. II. — *Critick of Pure Reason; translated from the Original of* IMMANUEL KANT. London: William Pickering. 1838. 8vo. pp. 655.

WE cannot believe, that it is possible to translate the writings of Kant, in a way that will make them intelligible to the English reader, however conversant he may be with ordinary metaphysical speculations, and little apt to be discouraged by the first sight of abstruse doctrine and uncouth phraseology. A compend, or general exposition of his system, may be attempted with some chance of success; but a literal version would probably be ten times more enigmatical than the original. The fact is, that Kant needs to be translated before he can be understood by the vast majority of his own countrymen; and though the eminent thinkers, who have stooped to this repulsive task in Germany, have succeeded in disentangling the main points of his system, and presenting to the popular view something like a connected whole, yet in the subsidiary portions, the filling up of the theory, a comparison of their respective works displays a mass of various and irreconcilable opinions. Kant aspired to invent a new science, and a new nomenclature for it, at the same time. Each is explicable only through the other; and the student is, consequently, presented at the outset with an alternative of difficulties. The system can be comprehended only by one who is acquainted with its technical vocabulary, and a knowledge of the terms employed can be derived only from a previous familiarity with the principal doctrines and divisions of the theory itself. The case, therefore, is very nearly as bad as that of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, — the unknown writing of an unknown tongue. Fichte seems to have had this fact in view, when he affirmed, that the works of his predecessor must be wholly unintelligible to those who did not know beforehand what they contained.

Other obstacles to the easy comprehension of Kantian metaphysics arise from defects of style, and the writer's inability, acknowledged by himself, to facilitate the study of his opinions by the clearness of their expression. The rambling and involved sentences, running on from page to page, and stuffed with repetitions and parenthetical matter, would frighten away any but the most determined student, at

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the very threshold of his endeavour. Kant was an acute logician, a systematic, profound, and original thinker; but his power of argument and conception wholly outran his command over the resources of language, and he was reduced to the use of words as symbols, in which his opinions were rather darkly implied, than openly enunciated. The very extent of his innovations in the vocabulary of science showed his inability to make a proper use of the ancient stores of his native tongue. The coining of new terms is the unfailing expedient of those, who cannot make a right application of old ones. The difficulties thus thrown in the student's way, are still further enhanced by the absolute dryness of the speculations, and the want of any relief from ingenious illustrations, or excursions into the flowery regions of eloquence and imagination. His genius never unbends. The flowers, with which other philosophers have strewed the path of their inquiries, were either beyond his reach, or he disdained to employ them; and his writings accordingly appear an arid waste of abstract discussions, from which the taste instinctively recoils. Not one oasis blooms, not a single floweret springs, beside the path of the traveller, through this African desert of metaphysics. In this respect, how unlike the rich and fervid genius of Bacon, whose solemn and weighty teachings derive half their effect from the play of imagination, and brilliancy of wit, in which they are enveloped!

Before the system of Kant can become generally known, or rightly appreciated, out of the small circle of scholars, who, in France and Germany, have resolutely grappled with its difficulties, the same service must be performed for him, which the generous and clear-headed Dumont afforded to his English contemporary, Bentham. It is not enough merely to translate; the order of subjects must be changed, the course of argument and illustration arranged anew, and the whole work rewritten. The success of previous attempts at a close interpretation has not been such as to tempt further endeavour. The Latin version of Born, though executed under the eye of Kant himself, is not half so intelligible as the original. Indeed, the limited vocabulary of the Latin language formed an insuperable obstacle to the undertaking, though a vigorous attempt was made to conquer the difficulty by the introduction of barbarisms, that would have made "Quinctilian stare and gasp." Should another scholar meditate a version into

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one of the ancient languages, we recommend to him to try the Greek, feeling quite confident, that, in such a case, he will at least equal in perspicuity some of the renowned fathers of Grecian philosophy. Futile as was this attempt to give universal reputation to the writings of Kant by translating them into the language of the learned world, the few writers, who, in France and England, have endeavoured to make the same works known in their vernacular tongue, have met, if possible, with still less success. In the latter country, indeed, little has been tried, and nothing effected. Among the countrymen of Locke, Hume, and Reid, the taste for metaphysical speculations has gradually died out; while they could not foster a philosophy of native growth, there was little chance of obtaining favor for an importation from Germany. Willich, a respectable German scholar, published a volume, entitled "Elements of the Critical Philosophy"; but it hardly deserved the name of an introduction to these elements. A few pages of the work on "Pure Reason" are literally translated, and an unsuccessful effort is made to explain a few of the most difficult terms in the Kantian vocabulary. Wirgman, in some essays published in the "Encyclopædia Londinensis," made greater pretensions, but supported them with far less ability. The introductory portion of the "Critique" is rendered into English with tolerable fidelity; but the original matter in the "Essays" only shows, that the writer was a weak and vain man, wholly unfitted for the task of comment and exposition. Before printing his work, he submitted it to Dugald Stewart, with the amiable intention of preventing that philosopher from wasting further labor on his inquiry into the faculties of the human mind, after he had been entirely forestalled by his German rival. When the Scottish sage returned the manuscript, with a coldly polite refusal of the proffered assistance, Wirgman, as if eager with Dogberry to write himself down an ass, had the folly to publish the correspondence. His lamentations upon such blind perversity on the part of Stewart and others make up the larger portion of the trash, with which he has enveloped his imperfect and jejune translation.

"They order these matters better in France." Of all living writers, perhaps, Cousin is best qualified for the task of interpreting and making available to common minds the dark sayings of the philosopher of Königsberg. His thorough acquaintance with the subject, attested by a copious in-

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fusion of Kantianism into his own philosophical system, — the candor, learning, and ability, with which he has reviewed the labors of others, — and the admirable clearness of his style, are qualities, that would insure him a great measure of success in the undertaking. He has long since promised to the world an exposition of Kant, and we would gladly see the pledge redeemed, though at the expense of sacrificing some of the fruits of his original speculations. The necessity for such a work is not removed by the labors of some of his countrymen, who have preceded him in the same field, though they have done much to elucidate the subject, and to give a new direction to their own philosophical inquiries. The publication of Villers is the most important, in which, giving up all attempts at a literal version, he goes over the ground in his own way with great distinctness, though he sometimes unwittingly engrafts his own opinions upon those which he seeks to interpret. In an admirable sketch, published in the *Biographie Universelle*, Stapfer has given a lucid and succinct account of the Kantian system, leaving nothing to be desired by those, who wish only for a general view of its scope and leading peculiarities.

Those, who think the difficulties of the German language are the only obstacle to the right comprehension of Kant, may satisfy themselves by examining the volume, of which the title stands at the head of our article. The great work, containing the whole system of the Critical Philosophy, is here faithfully translated, sentence for sentence, and, — as far as the different nature of the two languages would permit, — word for word. The writer of it has thus ably executed the only task that he proposed to himself. The violations of English idiom are frequent, it is true, but no more so than was absolutely necessary in order to preserve the strictness of the original plan. And, while the object was merely to translate, not to rewrite and interpret, we are not sure, but that the wisest course was to follow this method in all its severity. A freer version might give false notions of the original, while the only fault of the present volume must be, that, for the most part, it gives no notions at all. A false light is worse than utter darkness. A dreary task must the translator have had of it; though we would rather engage in an undertaking like his, than in that of the student, who, without further aid than this work affords, should attempt to

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master the thorny system of Kantian metaphysics. The book presents a more accurate image of its prototype, than it would do, if executed on a more liberal plan, and with greater attention to rhetorical embellishment. The English style, harsh, awkward, and involved as it appears, is a fair picture of the original diction; though the former is necessarily the more obscure, because, in German, far more frequently than in English, the composition of the technical terms indicates the precise shade of meaning attached to them. We have noticed a few wrong translations; but they are unimportant, and do not lessen the credit due to the translator for having executed a most repulsive work with remarkable care, patience, and fidelity.

But the question will surely be asked, Why spend so much labor on the interpretation of opinions, which the author has not cared, or has not been able, to make intelligible himself, and of which no practical application is possible? What hidden wisdom is there in the writings of Kant, to extract which the learned world must toil as painfully, as they have done in deciphering the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and perhaps to as little purpose? Why not leave his system in that obscurity, in which his uncouth style and barbarous nomenclature first enveloped it? We cannot be satisfied with the answer of the men who maintain, that the difficulties of this metaphysical theory do not arise from any defects in the exposition of it, but are fairly attributable to the ignorance, the want of acuteness, or the defective power of abstraction of those, who have tried in vain to comprehend it. The reproach is an infrequent one in the history of the higher philosophy. Why have not other writers on the same subject been exposed to it in an equal degree? The difficulty of reading a work on the higher mathematics is a different thing, for we know precisely in what it consists. No one complains of the obscurity of the *Mécanique Céleste*, though very few would attempt to peruse it in its primitive form with much chance of success. None but a mathematician of very respectable attainments would ever dream of such a task. It is well known, that La Place, addressing himself to a small circle of scientific men, wrote with the conciseness, which the comprehensiveness of his subject demanded, and that the difficulty of understanding his work proceeds mainly from this cause, and may be in great part removed by such a commentary as that furnished by our

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distinguished countryman. But there is no intrinsic difficulty in the subject of metaphysics, to be removed only by a regular course of previous training and information. Except the recent German metaphysicians, who have wilfully "walked in darkness" by borrowing the phraseology of Kant, and we are acquainted with no work in the whole round of the science, which a person of ordinary capacity may not understand, if he chooses. He will meet with many abstract and wearisome discussions, with very unattractive reading; but with little or nothing, that cannot easily be understood. This fact is stated in the most unequivocal terms by D'Alembert. "Every thing we learn from a good book on mental science is only a sort of reminiscence of what the mind previously knew. Accordingly, we may apply to good authors in this department what has been said of those who excel in the art of writing; that, in reading them, every one is apt to imagine, that he himself could have written in the same manner."

We are not sure, that the obscurity of Kant's writings has not been one great cause of their celebrity. The oracular utterances of the sage of Königsberg were eagerly caught up by a class of scholars, very numerous in Germany, whom no prospect of intellectual toil could appal, while their vanity was gratified by forming an esoteric school of philosophy, and possessing doctrines incommunicable to the world at large. No country was ever visited with such a plethora of learned industry. When the stores of ancient erudition were exhausted, and the Latin and Greek classics would bear no further commentary, when Oriental literature was thoroughly elucidated, and no difficulty in the Sanscrit and Japanese languages remained to be overcome, the crowd of philologists, critics, and commentators pounced with eagerness on a publication in their own land, which promised them an inexhaustible field of labor for all time to come. The stores of transcendental wisdom must be precious, indeed, when so many difficulties obstructed the attainment of them. Forthwith, dictionaries, manuals, refutations, replies, and rejoinders were multiplied without end. The number and loquacity of the initiated daily increased, all busily employed, and jabbering in a dialect, that astounded the common people, while it reduced the neophytes well-nigh to despair. A good-sized library might now be formed entirely of works written in

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Kantianese, and devoted more or less directly to commenting on the "Critical Philosophy."

We treat this matter lightly, though fully aware, that the extraordinary influence of Kant's writings cannot be explained from the single cause above mentioned. In truth, through all the defects of his style and doctrine, we perceive the workings of no ordinary mind. Uniting great learning to a vigorous and comprehensive intellect, delighting in the boldest and most original speculations, and especially distinguished for a systematizing spirit, which gave a formal unity and entireness to the mass of his opinions, he stands high among the small band of men, whose works have given a new impulse and direction to science, and whose lives form the great turning points in the history of philosophy. Fully aware of the greatness of his proposed task and his own abilities, he put forward his claims with a freedom and decision, which in other men would have savoured of arrogance, but in him marked only the self-reliance of genius. Occupying a new position in speculative inquiry, he declared, that the method of his predecessors was fundamentally wrong, that their conclusions were unfounded and contradictory, and that his own theory was not merely the only safe, but the only possible, foundation for all future systems of metaphysics. To adopt his own language, "all metaphysicians are therefore solemnly and rightfully suspended from office, until they shall have satisfactorily answered the question," on which, in his opinion, the possibility of their science depends. His own great work is not so much a new theory of the science itself, as an investigation of the grounds and nature of the problem proposed, and a scrutiny into the means and method to be adopted for its solution. All minds were naturally captivated by the boldness of pretension in these proposals. They felt the charms of a system, which promised to confute dogmatism on the one hand, and rebuke skepticism on the other, and to rescue the highest of all sciences from its previous uncertainties, waverings, and contradictions, and provide for it a sure method of future progress. The cumbersome apparatus, and the consequent tax on the patience of the learners, seemed pardonable, when they considered the difficulty of the problem and the magnitude of the end in view.

In any other country than Germany, the work would probably have fallen still-born from the press; for no one would

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have had the courage to pierce through the tough and knotty envelope of the system, to ascertain how far it redeemed its magnificent promises. Even there, it was unnoticed for two years after its publication, and the bookseller was on the point of using the impression for waste paper, when the attention of the public was directed toward it by some articles in a leading journal, and the edition was eagerly bought up. From that time, its influence has been well-nigh unbounded. Some were attached to it, perhaps, from the very labor it had cost them to comprehend it, and because they were unwilling to confess, even to themselves, that they had lost their toil. Others, who were disgusted with the endless doubts, inconsistencies, and retrocessions of all former metaphysics, were attracted to this system by its formal and technical appearance and vast pretensions, which seemed to insure for the object of their pursuit a reality and stable foundation, like that enjoyed by the kindred sciences of logic and mathematics. Kant was thoroughly German in feeling and opinion, and his works were admirably well adapted to the national prejudices, — if we may call them such without offence, — and to the tendencies of the times. They fell in with the current of thought that marked the age, and their influence consequently was not confined to their proper subject, but covered the whole range of speculation, — not more apparent in metaphysics, than in morals, taste, and literary criticism. The nomenclature was widely adopted, and the spirit of the "Critical Philosophy" soon colored the whole web of German literature. And, when the prodigious literary activity of the nation began to attract the attention of foreigners, and the "Chinese wall," which had isolated them from the rest of Europe, was broken down, the phenomenon of this man's extraordinary power, so widely manifested, did not fail to excite curiosity in foreign countries. Madame de Staël, in her work, that may be said almost to have introduced the German literati to the European world, devoted several chapters to a brilliant, though superficial, consideration of the Kantian philosophy. Now that the people thus recently made known to us bid fair to affect French and English letters more widely and deeply than any foreign causes have done for ages, it becomes doubly important to gain correct notions of the philosophical theory, which is ingrained in their thoughts and language.

We have said, that much of the popularity of this system

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at home was owing to its consonancy with the train of national opinions. We do not allude merely to the aliment, which its operose machinery afforded to the German appetite for toil. It was the state of religious opinions, with which the new philosophy harmonized in the greatest degree. More than fifty years ago, religious belief was dying out as rapidly in Germany as in France. Enthusiasm of faith had passed away with the theological wars, to which it had given rise. The Encyclopædists made converts to infidelity among the French, and Frederick of Prussia sought to extend their influence to his countrymen. He failed, because the characters of the two nations were so different, that the same course of argument and the same scheme of unbelief were not fitted for both. French skepticism, airy, shallow, and sensual, was not suited to the sobriety and thoughtfulness of the Germans. Equally or more prone than their neighbours to speculate on the highest topics, they could not do without a creed of some kind, but they wished for one of their own construction, — not dependent on revelation and the authority of Scripture, but worked out by their own minds, — curiously complex and elaborately wrought, — mystical in expression, though skeptical in tendency, — and more a subject of contemplation and argument, than belief. Their skepticism was to be arrayed in all the panoply of positive doctrine, — to be an elaborate scheme, not of doubt, but of absolute denial, — guarded by all the resources of reasoning, and appealing to the pride of human intellect, with all the pomp of demonstration and certainty.

Indeed, it is a curious fact, that peculiarities of national character are often more apparent in philosophical systems, than even in miscellaneous literature, matters of taste, forms of government, or domestic customs. Speculative theories result from the aggregate of character, and embody the whole mind of the people among whom they rise. From the extent and comparative vagueness of the subject, a greater scope is given for the expression of peculiar traits, which may appear either in the outward garb, the exterior accompaniment, of thought, or in the prevailing tendency of theories towards a certain point, or in the general fashion and arrangement of remark and argument. It is not that human nature, the great object of the study, differs in various countries, for the groundwork, of course, is everywhere the same. But it takes a different developement, has various and often

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opposite tendencies, and produces very dissimilar results. We understand perfectly what is meant at the present day by the French, the German, and the English schools of philosophy; for no translation from the language of one into that of another can be so perfect as to obliterate all marks of origin. The wine will still have a tang of the cask. There is a vein of truth in the quaint saying, which gives to the English the dominion of the sea, to the French that of the earth, and to the Germans that of the clouds and the air. No matter whether Leibnitz, Kant, or Schelling be taken as the representative of the Teutonic race in speculation. There is a subtilty and over-refinement of thought, a boldness of hypothesis, an excessive display of learning, and haziness of expression, common to them all. Equally apparent in all the English school, in Hobbes, Locke, Hartley, and Reid, are plain common sense, sturdy resistance to all authority in matters of thought, and a disposition to espouse the popular belief, and to reconcile speculation with practice. France boasts of two great names, whose reputation belongs to the earlier period of her scientific history. But the life and situation of Descartes and Malebranche were in many respects peculiar. Individual influences operated upon them, to a great extent, to hide the qualities, which they had in common with their countrymen. The remarkable self-education of the former, his foreign travel and various experience of men, and the devotion of far the greater part of his life to physical science, — and the connexion of the latter with the priesthood, together with his enthusiastic religious faith, — prevented either from manifesting, in any great degree, the bias of national thought. Condillac is a far better representative of French philosophy. He has numerous points in common with those of his countrymen and successors, whose philosophical creed differs most widely from his own, and whose habits of thought even appear, at first sight, wholly unlike those of the great master of the Sensualist school. Cousin may be taken as an eminent instance. He is an Eclectic by profession. He has drunk deep at all fountains, — Greek, Scholastic, German, English, — mingling all the different waters for a single draught. Condillac, on the other hand, acknowledges no other master than Locke, and does not appear to have studied even him very faithfully. But he is not a more thorough Frenchman than the great Eclectic. He does not bring out

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more strongly, more vividly, the national character. We find in the works of each the same transparency of diction united with real confusion of thought, the same dashing and brilliant, though shallow manner, generalizations equally bold and sweeping, and the same easy and confident tone of expression.

The writings of Kant gave utterance to the philosophical tendencies of his country and age, and the speculatists who succeeded him owe much of their success to a similar adoption of the prevailing sentiments of the thinking public into their respective systems. Under the guise of a new faith, they created a philosophy of unbelief; under a dogmatical mask, they proclaimed what was, at least in reference to revelation, a theory of total skepticism. This fact, though commonly admitted, so far as it relates to the opinions of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, is denied in respect to the creator of the transcendental philosophy. But the denial only shows how imperfectly, out of the limits of his own country, his system is understood. The speculations of Hume, as he repeatedly admits, gave the first hint for the formation of his new scheme of belief; "they first interrupted my dogmatical slumber, and gave a wholly different direction to my inquiries in the field of speculative philosophy." Though commonly understood as aiming at the refutation of his predecessor, he extended, in fact, the sphere of Hume's skeptical arguments, generalizing them so far that they covered the whole field of knowledge.

"I first inquired, whether the objection of Hume might not be universal, and soon found, that the idea of the connexion between cause and effect is far from being the only one by which the understanding, *a priori*, thinks of the union of things; but rather, that metaphysics are entirely made up of such conceptions. I endeavoured to ascertain their number, and when, guided by a single principle, I had succeeded in the attempt, I proceeded to inquire into the objective validity of these ideas; for I was now more than ever convinced, that they were not drawn from experience, as Hume had supposed, but that they came from the pure understanding." — *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik. Vorrede*, p. 13.

That this expansion of Hume's principles, though conducted on a different method, leads to the same skeptical conclusions that he deduced from them, will be more clearly

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seen in the developement of the theory. The impression, that it led to very different results, is founded on the arrogant pretensions of the new school, and the difficulty of analyzing the system far enough to detect its real character. The name of Transcendentalism seems to imply, that it is the scheme of a higher philosophy, rising above the objects of sense, and over-leaping the narrow limits within which the exercise of our faculties had formerly been confined; when, in fact, its leading doctrine is, that our knowledge is necessarily restricted to objects within the domain of experience, — that all super-sensual ideas are to us characterless and devoid of meaning, and in attempting to *cognize* them the reason is involved in endless contradictions. We do not state this fact as in itself a reproach upon the speculations of Kant, but only to correct the unfounded notions, which most persons among us entertain, of their character and tendency. All innovations in the theory of science, all new views in philosophy, must stand or fall on their logical and intrinsic merits. There may be a presumption against them from the degrading conception which they offer of human nature; but this is insufficient to justify their immediate rejection. Of two hypotheses, the more ennobling is not necessarily the true one, and too great advantage is given to the skeptic, by a hasty preference awarded to it, before the grounds on which it rests are satisfactorily determined. Our business is with argument, and not with declamation.

We obtain a clue to the labyrinth of Kantian metaphysics, as soon as we rightly perceive the point of departure selected for the system, and the new method on which he resolved to prosecute his inquiries. The three sciences, logic, mathematics, and metaphysics, distinguished from others by their purely intellectual origin and nature, have advanced with very unequal success. The first came nearly in a perfect form from the hands of its inventor, Aristotle, subsequent inquirers having done little but to pare off its redundancies and improve the modes of its application. The second, rising from small beginnings, has gone steadily on, every step being one of progress, till it now covers an immense domain, while we can hardly imagine any bounds to its future advancement. But the fate of the third of these sciences has been directly the reverse. Though older than the others, it has, from the earliest period of its history, presented little more than an

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arena for endless contests, where philosophers might exercise their powers in mock engagements, but where no one could ever gain the least ground, or found a permanent possession upon his victory. For all this ill success, Kant supposed that the method of inquiry was in fault. On the old plan, it was presumed, that sensible things, outward objects, were known to us in all their relations; — that the nature of mind was unknown, and must be studied through the effects produced within it by impressions from without. Kant reversed this process, and from the centre of the mind itself observed the action of our *cognitive* faculties on surrounding things. He looked upon the outward world as modified by our own mental constitution, and upon the mind as projecting, so to speak, its own modes of being upon the external creation. "It sounds strange indeed, at first, but it is not the less certain, when I say, in respect to the original laws of the understanding, that it does not derive them from nature, but imposes them upon nature." From effecting this change in the mode of inquiry, he compares himself to Copernicus, who, when he found that he could not explain the motions of the heavenly bodies by supposing the firmament to turn round the spectator, tried the opposite supposition, by leaving the spectator to turn, and the stars to be at rest.

The obvious consequence of this hypothesis is, that all our knowledge is subjective, that we can never know things as they are, but only as they appear to us when viewed through a false and deceptive medium. There is a deep gulf between the two sciences of psychology and ontology, and no human efforts can bridge over the chasm. Though the problem which Kant proposes should be solved, — though by a finer analysis we should separate the qualities really belonging to an object from those superadded by our manner of looking at it, — still we could never imagine how it would appear to us, if deprived of these subjective elements. Now our idea of truth is, the conformity of our representations with their archetypes; and, as confidence in our perceptive faculties is the only way of assuring ourselves that such coincidence exists, the theory in question is certainly based on the most comprehensive skepticism. It declares, that truth is not only unattained, but unattainable. It assumes, that the world which we know, is a web spun by our own fancies on few and thin filaments of absolute being; take away the imaginary warp,

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and the texture cannot hold together. The world of things in themselves is incognizable and inconceivable.

> "——We receive but what we give,
> And in our life alone does Nature live,
> Ours is her wedding garment, ours her shroud."

By a full survey of the cognitive faculty of man, Kant sought to ascertain the number and character of those primitive elements of thought, which, being united with, or imposed upon, the impressions received from sense, constitute knowledge, or make experience possible. In this way he sought to finish the work commenced by Locke, — to discover the grounds and origin of human knowledge, and thence to deduce the conditions of its use, and to determine its extent and boundaries. Perhaps we may gain more accurate notions of the execution of this task, by going back for a time to the theory of his predecessor.

The change of a preposition is sufficient to reconcile the leading doctrine of Locke with the opinions of those philosophers, who have most distinguished themselves by the virulence of their attacks upon his system. The proposition, as he states it, that all our knowledge proceeds *from* sensation and reflection, as it implies that we are not to go behind these faculties in accounting for its origin, is faulty in itself, and at variance with his subsequent assertions. Had he asserted, that all truth is perceived *through* these faculties, or first known on occasion of their exercise, he would not merely have avoided misapprehensions and unfounded complaints, but have stated an undeniable fact, which not the most illiberal of his opponents could ever dream of controverting. The two worlds of matter and mind are the only possible objects of human cognition. We can know the one only through the functions of sense, and the other through the exercise of that faculty, — call it reflection, consciousness, or what you please, — by which we cognize objects of pure thought, or the immaterial creation.

But if we merely trace a given idea to sensation or reflection, we leave the matter short; we have not fully accounted for its origin. An impression is made on the senses, and a perception of the understanding immediately follows. Is there not an element in it, which is purely intellectual, and as such not *caused* by the action on the nerves, though this action may mark the *occasion*, on which it rises? The eye

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gives us a perception of distance, though the impression on the optic nerve certainly transmits to the mind nothing but a sensation of various colors. The judgment immediately adds an estimate of the distance, at which the visible object is placed; and does this, from long practice, with such facility and quickness, that we confound the act with the sensation, and imagine that we *see* the separation of bodies in space. Thus we falsely attribute to the sensation more knowledge than really proceeds from it. Still, this is an instance not of original mental action, but of an acquired perception, founded on habit, and as such is noticed by Locke, as perfectly consistent with his hypothesis. But are there not other instances, where the tendency to add something to the sensible impression is original, instinctive, and acts with irresistible force; and where the addition made, or the subjective element as the Germans call it, is wholly unlike any quality existing in the outward thing, and can in no way be traced to its influence?

To answer this question, we take an example most familiar to metaphysicians. Two events happen in close connexion, and we immediately connect them by the supposed relation of cause and effect. The hand is held near the fire, and the sensation of pain follows. Heat is abstracted from water, and the fluid immediately congeals. Certain solid substances are thrown into water, and they straightway dissolve, the fluid remaining transparent as ever; other substances in powder are thrown in, the medium remains turbid for a time, and then the foreign matter sinks unchanged to the bottom. Now, in each of these cases, we immediately and necessarily suppose, that the first event is an efficient agent, and of its own power or force produces the second. But the senses tell us nothing of such a connexion. They only inform us of the two events themselves, and that they are contiguous in place and time. Nor can the judgment be attributed to reasoning, or a power of tracing the relations between ideas. For what resemblance is there between the ideas of heat and pain, between those of cold and solidity, between pounded sugar and transparency in water, or pounded alabaster and insolubility? None at all. Naturally and easily as we make the transition now from one of these related ideas to the other, had we no previous experience, — had we never seen the experiment or heard of its being tried, — we should no more have thought of connecting the two notions, than of tracing

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an analogy between a thing a yard long and one that is red. The two ideas are wholly dissimilar.

The whole matter may be summed up as follows; that, having sensible evidence of two events happening in direct succession, we immediately connect with them the idea of power, or efficient agency. Whence comes this idea? Certainly not from sensation. We do not perceive the power of fire to melt lead or consume paper, just as we perceive its light and the flickering of its flame, merely by looking at it. We perceive the fact, indeed, that the lead is melted and the paper is dissipated; but the supposition, that the fire causes this result, goes beyond the perception, is extraneous to it, and, so far as the senses are concerned, is entirely gratuitous. Does it come from reflection then? This faculty denotes nothing but attention to the subjects of our consciousness, and we surely are not conscious of the powers of material things. Consciousness informs us, indeed, that the idea exists in the mind, but tells us nothing about its origin; nor can we trace any intellectual process, or train of thought, which seems to end in giving birth to this notion. The idea of power, therefore, is a fair instance of an element of knowledge, in itself universal and of primary importance, the origin of which cannot be ascribed either to external or internal experience.

Now, this instinctive yoking together of two events as cause and effect, or rather the universal judgment closely related to it, "that every thing, which happens must have a cause," is termed, in the elegant language of Kant, "a synthetical judgment *a priori*." Propositions are called analytical or synthetical, according as they are either merely explanatory, and add nothing to the sum of our knowledge, or as they have an amplifying effect, and actually enlarge the given cognition. In other words, the predicate of an analytical judgment affirms nothing but what was already contained in the idea of the subject. This is the nature of a complete or partial definition. Facts which we learn from experience are instances of synthetical judgments, the predicate going beyond the subject, and thus making a positive addition to our stock of previous knowledge. The proposition we have been considering at such length is evidently synthetical, for there is nothing in the very conception or idea of one event to create a necessity of its being preceded or followed by another of a different character. It is also called a judgment

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a priori, because, as we have seen, it is not, and it cannot be, derived from experience. Then what is its real origin? How do we obtain it? This is Hume's problem. Make the question universal, state it in the broadest possible form, and we have the great problem of the transcendental philosophy; "How are synthetical judgments *a priori* possible?" The expression is not remarkable for perspicuity, but the meaning is this; How is it, that, independent of experience, we are able to know any thing with absolute certainty? To the consideration of this question, the "Critique of Pure Reason" is exclusively devoted.

We first seek for a criterion, by which we may securely distinguish *a priori* knowledge from that which is founded on experience. Kant finds such a test in the characteristics of universality and strict necessity, neither of which can be attached to any propositions of empirical origin. Human experience is never complete, — never exhausts the possible variety of cases; its judgments, therefore, are never universally true or demonstratively certain; but, founded on an inductive process, they are valid so far as our observation has extended. The contrary is always possible and conceivable. Not so with all the propositions of mathematics, with some axioms in physics, and with many other truths, that are implied in all the forms of speculative knowledge. These carry their own evidence along with them, the denial of them involving a contradiction or absurdity, and no case being supposable where absolute and universal certainty would fail to attend them. Therefore they are not derived from experience, and the question recurs with regard to their origin, Whence does the mind obtain them?

Kant defies the world to give any other answer to this query, than that which we have already stated as the foundation of his system; — that they are forms of the mind itself, — the colored medium through which we look out upon the universe of cognizable things. The material world is deaf and dumb to such truths. The mind does not derive them from without, but from its own stores, and by its own inborn energy imposes them as necessary and immutable laws upon the outward universe. Our perceptive faculties have a peculiar organization, and can act only within well-defined limits. Therefore we know *a priori*, that the information received through the senses must conform to this

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organization, and receive certain changes from the passages, through which it is transmitted. In what manner objects would appear to beings of a different constitution and nature from ourselves, we cannot even conjecture. But we know how they *must* appear to us, and therefore, prior to experience, we can determine some particulars in relation to them with absolute certainty. To inquire into the actual constitution of things, — their real nature, as distinct from the *appearances* which they assume to us or to different orders of being, — is a hopeless endeavour. It is seeking to know, without using the only means of knowledge. It is a gross error, though a natural one, to consider our own modes of knowing as the modes of being inherent in outward things; to give objective validity to subjective laws.

The theory is certainly ingenious and plausible, though it rests on a paradox. Empirical propositions, to which we give only a limited *comprehension* and a qualified assent, are not controverted. Universal and absolute convictions, in the reference which we instinctively make of them, are necessarily false. The non-existence of qualities is inferred from our inability to conceive of their non-existence; they belong only to the mind, because we cannot even imagine their annihilation as attributes of things without us. Without questioning the reality of any "anticipated" knowledge, we inquire only into the sufficiency of those criteria, by which Kant seeks to distinguish it from truths empirically known. That in the information received through the action of the perceptive faculties there are some elements, which are necessary, or that cannot be got rid of, is a fact which betrays rather the limitation of our capacities, than the existence of a different and higher source of knowledge. The *necessity* in question may be only of a negative character, and then the truth which it characterizes may be of empirical origin. Some objects can be known only under certain relations; some qualities cannot, in our conceptions, be abstracted from the substance in which they inhere. Enlarged means of experience, — the possession of an additional sense, for instance, — might do away with these impossibilities. The necessary character of the cognitions in such case, results rather from the limitations of experience, than from the existence of a higher faculty of knowing.

But without insisting on the insufficiency of these tests,

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we remark further a monstrous gap in the reasoning adopted by Kant. From the necessary and universal recognition of an object or quality, he infers, that it cannot be objectively real. Thus he assumes, not merely that experience can lead us only to contingent, limited, and relative knowledge, but that it is the only trustworthy means of cognition. Whatever is known *a priori*, on his system, must be illusive ; it is subjective, or derived only from our own modes of being and knowing, though always falsely referred to things as they exist. In this way it is maintained, without the slightest proof, and in contradiction to an irresistible impulse of belief, that there is no harmony between our laws of thought and the real constitution of objects. The consciousness of necessity, which accompanies certain judgments, is held to prove their origin *a priori ;* and from this last fact is inferred their entire want of foundation in the absolute nature of things. We may admit the justice of the first inference, but wholly deny that of the second, which would be more properly styled a mere conjecture. For the whole course of Kant's arguments leads to the conclusion, that, from the constitution of a something in our conceptions, we are not entitled to form any belief respecting the constitution of that something without us. Yet, in direct opposition to this canon, from the *a priori* origin of our knowledge of a quality, he deduces the non-existence of that quality in the outward world. That is, he admits the rule, when it works in favor of his system, but repudiates it, when it makes against him. It is a good principle, when it leads to skepticism ; it is invalid, when it tends to restore confidence in the fidelity of our representative ideas.

Few words will suffice to apply these principles of the Transcendental philosophy to an explanation of the intellectual processes in the acquisition of knowledge. It is apparent from what has already been said, that each cognitive faculty has two functions ; — the one, *receptivity*, or the power of receiving impressions from without, the other, *spontaneity*, or the power of reacting upon and modifying these impressions. The first of these faculties, that of sense (*sinnlichkeit*), in which spontaneity exists in the lowest degree, furnishes *intuitions*, — the rude and unformed *matter* of all our knowledge. Two intuitions, those of space and time, are found to possess the marks of universality and necessity, and therefore have an *a priori* origin, and no objective reality,

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or foundation in the real nature of things. Space is no empirical conception, derived from external experience, but the necessary prerequisite, or condition, of our ability to imagine any thing as existing out of our own minds. If from our conception of a material substance, we abstract every thing which is known empirically, as its color, hardness, weight, impenetrability, &c., still the space remains, which the body had occupied, as something that cannot be left out. We can imagine a void space, or one in which no substance is to be found, but we can form no idea of body as existing otherwise than in space. Again, space is an endless magnitude, no limits to it being conceivable; and it is essentially *one*, for though we may speak of different spaces, we understand thereby only parts of one and the same all-comprehending extension. Similar arguments will be found to be applicable to our idea of time. On the subjective character of these two intuitions depends the possibility of the whole science of mathematics; our absolute conviction of geometrical truths resting on the pure representation of space, while arithmetic derives its certainty from the "anticipated" idea of time.

We certainly have neither time nor space to consider the argument more particularly, but only to inquire, how far the theory, as thus explained, tends to the refutation of skepticism. To the first bewildered apprehensions of the student, it would seem to be difficult to frame a system, which should strike more effectually at the foundations of all belief. By denying the reality of space, "the great globe itself, with all that it inherit," passes away like a dream. By asserting that time does not exist out of our own fancies, memory appears a cheat, existence is contracted to a point, and the whole history of experience and events is rolled up like the morning mist.

> "Nothing is there *to come*, and nothing *past;*
> But an eternal now does ever last."

To assert, that these laws of thought have a subjective reality, sufficient for our purposes, and are rightly applicable to the phenomenal world, — the only one with which we are acquainted or have any concern, — is a contemptible evasion. The most audacious skeptic never denied, that we *believe* in the existence of matter and in the succession of events in time, or that this belief is imperative and necessary. At the same time, he maintains that it is illusive, and has no founda-

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tion in the real nature of things. To go farther than this, would be the part, not of an infidel, but of a madman. It is true, that Kant professes to repudiate Berkleianism, and will not admit that his own system leads to any similar result. He maintains the existence of the outward world, though he denies the reality of that which, by his own principles, can alone make the conception of such existence possible. The originality, at least, of a system, that couples the refutation of idealism with a denial of the *objectivity* of space, cannot be disputed. External nature has a being independent of our ideas, though the manner of that being transcends the limits of all thought. Kant contented himself at first with a simple protest against the ideal theory; but, when his opponents charged him with denying in words what was an unavoidable inference from his own system, in the *second edition* of the "Critique" he inserted a proof of the existence of matter. Of the validity of this proof, we say nothing, for we do not profess to understand it, and have great doubts whether the author understood it himself. It is an excrescence on the system, violating its unity, and contradicting what must be inferred from his doctrines as a whole.

The intuitions of sense form the groundwork of our cognitions, but in themselves are unformed and incomplete. Before they constitute knowledge, they must become objects of thought to the understanding, a faculty distinguished from that of sense, as its operations are independent of space and time. The latter represents the matter of things, as it is affected by them; the former, exercising spontaneity in a higher degree, collects the variety of these materials into a whole. What the intuitions of space and time are to the functions of sense, the categories are to the understanding. They are forms of thought, under which intuitions are necessarily *taken in*, or *subsumed*, and thereby become *conceptions*, the legitimate products of the understanding. They are twelve in number, divided into four equal classes; those of quantity, quality, relation, and modality. The nomenclature is obviously borrowed from that of the logician, and thus indicates the source of the theory, and the grounds on which it rests. Kant was early struck with the similarity between the first principles of logic and the necessary laws, to which, in an ontological point of view, all the objects of our perceptions appear to be subjected. Might not the similarity of appearance be founded

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on the radical identity of the two classes? Every act of reasoning, considered abstractly, takes place under certain forms or laws, which have undoubted authority, and the number and reality of which may be determined with the utmost precision. Might not these forms be identical with the laws, which we fancy are drawn from the observation of nature, but which, on this hypothesis, must be considered as imposed on nature by our own intellectual activity? Kant answers this question in the affirmative, and, having remodelled and completed to his own satisfaction the table of categories, claims to have resolved by their means the problem respecting the possibility of *a priori* knowledge in the department of physics. To every conception or judgment that forms a part of our knowledge are applied at least four categories, taken respectively from the four classes into which these forms of thought have been divided. In other words, we must think of the object, in the first place, as being either *one*, *many*, or *all*; secondly, as *positive*, *negative*, or *limited*; thirdly, as *substance* or *accident*, *cause* or *effect*, or as placed in *reciprocity* with something else by the law of *action* and *reaction*; finally, as *possible* or *impossible*, *existent* or *non-existent*, *necessary* or *contingent*.

The categories are necessary conditions of thinking upon any object, but in themselves they do not enable us to know the object. To accomplish this purpose, real intuitions must be given, to which the categories may be referred; and since all intuitions come from sense, the office of the understanding extends only to sensible things. Beyond the operations of the senses, or the territory of experience, nothing is cognizable. This remark applies even to our own nature. Pure consciousness gives us assurance, that we exist; but, since there is no intuition of this fact, and it is thought upon only by the spontaneity of the understanding, so our own being cannot be known in itself, but only the manner of that being. Empirical consciousness of changes in our internal condition must be distinguished from pure consciousness of self-existence. Universally, therefore, the functions of the understanding are empirical, and not transcendental; they refer to objects as phenomena, and not as things in themselves.

Notwithstanding this necessary limitation of our capacities to a knowledge of objects within the domain of experience, the mind constantly strives to rise above the sphere of the senses,

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and, as in the metaphysical systems of the older philosophy, fashions for itself a science of things in themselves, which are supersensual and unconditioned. An analysis of our intellectual faculties is incomplete, if it does not account for this effort, if it does not develope some deep-seated cause, which constantly impels us to a search after what is absolute and unlimited, and gives to the supposed knowledge of it a deceptive appearance of validity. Kant finds such a cause in the third cognitive faculty of man, denominated *par excellence* the Reason, — spontaneity raised to the highest degree, — the chief function of which is to support this unceasing but vain endeavour. As the power of sense has its forms, and the understanding its categories, so the reason has its *ideas*, created by adding to conceptions elaborated by the next lower faculty a notion of the infinite and the absolute. They are three in number; the idea of the absolute unity of the thinking subject, which is the aim of rational psychology; the idea of the absolute totality of phenomena, the universe, which forms the purpose of rational cosmology; finally, the idea of absolute reality, the highest *condition* of all things, the first cause, which is the object of rational theology. In other words, by a necessary impulse of our nature we must *assume* the unity of the soul, the existence of the universe, and the reality of a first cause. But these ideas enter not the field of positive knowledge. They constitute the possibility of metaphysics as an idea, but not as actual science. No proof of their objective validity can be furnished, for it is their essence not to be referred to corresponding objects cognizable through sense; they are derived subjectively from the reason. Yet they are not wholly without use, as they answer at least a regulative purpose. They urge our empirical inquiries onward to higher and nobler ends, than would otherwise be pursued; and, though the objects themselves are unattainable, the effort serves to give greater comparative unity and completeness to our system of knowledge.

The result of the theory may be given in Kant's own words. "All knowledge of things derived solely from the pure understanding, or from pure reason, is nothing but empty show; and truth is to be found only through experience." He expressly denies the validity of the *a priori* argument for the freedom of the will, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a God; and rebukes the arrogance of the schools

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for assuming to themselves higher grounds of conviction than are open to the vulgar. His aim is, not merely to show the futility of the proofs already advanced in support of these great doctrines, but to demonstrate the absolute impracticability of the attempt to establish them under any circumstances. The reason may and will exhaust itself by perpetual efforts to transcend the limits of possible inquiry, — erecting systems and almost in the same breath pulling them down again; because urged on by an irresistible impulse, that prevents it from being taught wisdom by repeated failures, and from acknowledging that it has overtasked its powers and mistaken its prerogatives. The arguments relating to these sublime doctrines are summed up on either side, and found to be equally irrefutable, and therefore equally false. Then it is vain to argue either for or against them; the supporter and the assailant alike are silenced.

Such a result of metaphysical inquiry as this, reminds one of Madame de Staël's remark on former skeptical systems; that "they changed the light of knowledge into a devouring flame; and Philosophy, like an enraged magician, fired the palace on which she had lavished all the prodigies of her skill." It should be observed, however, that Kant himself, alarmed by the sweeping skepticism of these conclusions, in his "Critique of Practical Reason," subsequently published, labors to do away with his own work, and to find in our moral nature what the speculative reason cannot afford, — a foundation for the belief in things unseen and eternal. The attempt forms a virtual acknowledgment of the necessity of those doctrines, which he had previously refused to legitimate; they are introduced into the field of ethics as postulates, without which moral phenomena remain inexplicable.

Our outline of this celebrated system is necessarily very imperfect, but it may serve to correct some unfounded notions of its character and tendency. The authority of Kant as a teacher of opinions, even in his native country, has passed away; and the result has come far short of justifying his boast, that he had given a new and sure basis to mental science, and fixed the principles and method of its progress. Speculation has broken the trammels, with which he would have limited its aberrations, and has pursued a course more erratic than ever. Opinions have varied as widely in the mass, and fluctuated as rapidly in the individual, as if he had

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never determined "the only possible method" of avoiding hesitancy and confusion, and placing metaphysics on the same stable foundation with the other abstract sciences. But the indirect influences of his writings may be distinctly traced in the works of nearly all the speculatists, who have succeeded him, not only in Germany, but in France and England. While his innovations in the nomenclature have changed the whole garb of philosophy, and rendered the study of systems more abstruse, fatiguing, and repulsive, it must be confessed, that they have also removed some causes of ambiguity and mistake, and have pointed out the path for effecting a more systematic and beneficial reform. His example has also given a fresher impulse to the spirit of inquiry, increased the eagerness for the formation of new systems, and carried boldness of theorizing on all topics far beyond its ancient limits. His great demerit consists, in having effectually, though perhaps not intentionally, served the cause of infidelity, while professing to repair and extend the defences of belief. Had the real character of his doctrines been evident at a glance, their influence, whether for good or evil, could not have reached so far. But his disciples groped about in the intricacies of a system, which they could not fully master, and embraced opinions, of the nature and tendency of which they had but a blind conception. Thus, they were fairly enlisted on the side of skepticism, before they had thought of quitting the banners of faith. Once engaged in the work, they felt only the desire of surpassing their instructer in dogmatism of manner, rashness in forming novel hypotheses, and general license of speculation on the most sacred subjects. As his theory extended over the whole territory of knowledge, almost every science has in turn been infected with the wild and crude imaginings of his followers. It is this general effervescence of thought and reasoning, which has brought a reproach on the very name of philosophy, and, through the mournful perversion of terms which it has occasioned, has given too good cause for regarding a system of philosophical radicalism as a mere cover for an attack on all the principles of government and social order, and for considering a philosophical religion as atheism itself. Under such circumstances, we can hardly wonder, that many reflecting persons have conceived a distrust of the consequences of such free inquiry, and do not suppress either alarm or contempt at the bare mention of German metaphysics.

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ART. III. — 1. *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years* 1766, 1767, *and* 1768. By J. CARVER, Esquire, Captain of a Company of Provincial Troops, during the late War with France. The Third Edition. To which is added, some Account of the Author, and a Copious Index. London: printed for C. Dilly, H. Paine, and J. Phelps. 1780.

2. CARVER'S *Travels in Wisconsin.* From the Third London Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1838.

IT is not our purpose to review the Journal of the old traveller in the Northwest, though it is curious and interesting; but to give, within the proper limits, an outline of the history of the Ohio valley from 1744 to 1774, a period which has been generally despatched in two pages, but might, if well explored, fill a volume. In our last number but one, we sketched, with a few rapid strokes, the progress of French discovery in the valley of the Mississippi. The first travellers reached that river in 1673, and when the new year of 1750 broke upon the great wilderness of the West, all was still a wilderness, except those little spots upon the prairies of Illinois, and among the marshes of Louisiana, of which we gave a list in that sketch. It is true, that some have told us that St. Vincent's, or Vincennes, upon the Wabash, was settled before the middle of the last century. Volney thought he found evidence of its settlement in 1735,* and Bishop Bruté, the present Catholic bishop of Indiana, speaks of a missionary station at Vincennes in 1700, and of the death of a M. de Vincennes, who was sent to protect the post, in 1735.† We cannot, however, discover any early authority to support the traveller or the bishop. Charlevoix, whose History comes down to about 1735, makes no mention either in that, or in his Journal, of any such missionary station as that referred to by Bishop Bruté, nor is any point upon his map of the Wabash marked as a settlement; and the M. de Vincennes whose death he mentions, was killed at the South. Vivier, who names the settlements of the West in 1750, says nothing of Vincennes, although he was giving to his religious superiors an account of the missionary stations. ‡ In a

* Volney's *View*, p. 336.
† Butler's *Kentucky*. Intro. xviii. Note. 2d edition.
‡ *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 98.

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volume of *Mémoires* on Louisiana, compiled from the minutes of M. Dumont, and published in Paris in 1753, but probably written in 1749, though we have an account of the Wabash or St. Jerome, its course and origin, and the use made of it by the traders, not a word is found touching any fort, settlement, or station on it; * and Vaudreuil, then governor of Louisiana, and afterwards of Canada, as quoted by Pownall, mentions, even in 1751, Fort Massac upon the Ohio, and Fort Miamis on the Maumee, but says nothing of a post on the Wabash. † Nor is this negative evidence all; for, in a pamphlet published in London in 1755, called "The Present State of North America," which is accompanied with a map giving all the French forts and stations, we have a particular account of the settlement of Vincennes. This work states, that in 1750 a fort was founded there, and that in 1754, three hundred families were sent to settle about it. ‡

In 1749, therefore, when the English first began to move seriously about sending men into the West, there were, we think, only the Illinois and lower country settlements; the present States of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, being still in the possession of the Indians, though forts may have been founded at Sandusky and the mouth of the Maumee.

Having seen on what the French claim to the West rested,

* *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, &c. &c.

† Pownall's *Memorial on Service in North America*, &c., drawn up in 1756. It forms an Appendix to his "Administration of the Colonies;" 4th edition. London. 1768.

‡ *Present State of North America*, p. 65. — See this settlement referred to by Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, 1754, in Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III., page 285.

The French forts mentioned in this work as north of the Ohio, were,

Two on French Creek, (Rivière des Bœufs.)
Du Quesne.
Sandusky.
Miamis on Maumee.
St. Joseph's on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan.
Pontchartrain at Detroit.
Missilimacanac.
Fox River of Green Bay.
Crèvecœur, } on the Illinois.
Rock Fort, or Fort St. Louis, }
Vincennes.
Mouth of the Wabash.
Cahokia.
Kaskaskia.
Mouth of the Ohio.
Mouth of the Missouri.

At the mouth of the Scioto (called in the work just named, the "Sikoder") the French had a post during the war of 1756; see Rogers's *Journal*, London, 1765; Post's *Journal* in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. App. p. 117.

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viz. discovery and occupancy; we now, before proceeding to the quarrel which arose for the possession of that Eden-like land, shall give, as well as we can, the grounds of the British claims to it.

England, from the outset, claimed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, on the ground that the discovery and possession of the seacoast was a discovery and possession of the country; and, as is well known, her grants to Virginia, Connecticut, and other colonies were through to the South Sea. It was not upon this, however, that Great Britain relied in her contest with France; she had other grounds, namely, actual discovery, and purchase or title of some kind from the Indian owners.

Her claim on the score of actual discovery was poorly supported, and little insisted on; the statements given by Coxe, as to Colonel Wood and others, will be found in our last volume.* Beside those, we have it from tradition, that in 1742, John Howard crossed the mountains from Virginia, sailed in a canoe made of a buffalo skin down the Ohio, and was taken by the French on the Mississippi; † and this tradition is confirmed by a note, contained in a London edition of Du Pratz, printed in 1774, in which the same facts as to Howard are substantially given as being taken from the official report of the Governor of Virginia, at the time of his expedition. But this expedition by Howard, even if true, could give England no claim to the West, for he made no settlement, and the whole Ohio valley had doubtless long before been explored by the French traders; it is, however, worthy of remembrance, as the earliest visit by an Englishman to the West, which can be considered as distinctly authenticated. Soon after that time, traders undoubtedly began to flock thither from Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1748, Conrad Weiser, an interpreter, was sent from Philadelphia with presents to the Indians at Logstown, an Indian town upon the Ohio, between Pittsburg and the Big Beaver creek, and we find the residence of English traders in that neighbourhood referred to as of some standing, even then. ‡

* Vol. XLVIII. pp. 103, 104.

† Kercheval's *Valley of Virginia*, p. 67.

‡ Butler's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I. 2d edition, (Introd. xx.) gives the adventures of one Salling in the West, as early as 1730; but his authority is a late work, (*Chronicles of Border Warfare*,) and the account is merely traditional, we presume; Salling is named in the note to Du Pratz, as having been with Howard in 1742. There are various vague accounts of English in the West, before Howard's voyage. Keating, in Long's *Expedition*, speaks of a Colonel Wood, who had been there, beside the one men-

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But the great ground whereon the English claimed dominion beyond the Alleghanies, was, that the Six Nations * owned the Ohio valley, and had placed it, with their other lands, under the protection of England. As early as 1684, Lord Howard, governor of Virginia, held a treaty with the Six Nations, at Albany, when, at the request of Colonel Dungan, the governor of New York, they placed themselves under the protection of the mother country.† This was again done in 1701; and, upon the 14th of September, 1726, a formal deed was drawn up, and signed by the chiefs, by which their lands were conveyed to England, in trust, "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs."‡ If, then, the Six Nations had a good claim to the western country, there could be little doubt that England was justified in defending that country against the French; particularly as France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had agreed not to invade the lands of Britain's Indian allies, or something to that effect. § But this claim of the New York savages has been disputed. Very lately, General William H. Harrison has attempted to disprove it, and show, that the Miami confederacy of Illinois and Ohio could not have been conquered by the Iroquois. ‖ We shall not, at present, enter into the controversy; but will only say, that to us the evidence is very strong, that, before 1680, the Six Nations had overrun the western lands, and were dreaded

tioned by Coxe. In a work called "The Contest in America between England and America. By an Impartial Hand. London, 1757," we find it stated, that the Indians at Albany, in 1754, acknowledged that the English had been on the Ohio for *thirty* years. And in a memorial by the British ministry, in 1755, they speak of the West as having been cultivated by England for "*above twenty years.*" (Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 330.)

* When we first hear of the great northern confederacy, there were five tribes in it; viz. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Afterwards the Tuscaroras were conquered and taken into the confederacy, and it became *the Six Nations.* Still later, the Nanticokes, and Tuteloes, came into the union, which was, however, still called *the Six Nations*, though sometimes *the Eight United Nations.* This confederacy was by the French called the "Iroquois," by the Dutch "Maquas," by the other Indians "Mengive," and, thence, by the English, "Mingoes." These varied names have produced countless errors, and endless confusion. Thus, on the first page of Butler's *History*, we are told of the *Iroquois or Mohawks;* and the Mingoes of the Ohio are almost always spoken of as a tribe. We have used the terms "Six Nations," and "Iroquois," and now and then "Mingoes," always meaning the whole confederacy.

† *Plain Facts*, &c. Philadelphia, 1781. pp. 22, 23.

‡ This may be found at length in Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, 4th edition, London, 1768, p. 269.

§ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 329.

‖ See Harrison's *Historical Address*, 1837.

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from Lake Michigan to the Ohio, and west to the Mississippi. In 1673, Allouez and Dablon found the Miamis upon Lake Michigan, fearing a visit from the Iroquois ;* and from this time forward we hear of them in that far land from all writers, genuine and spurious. † We cannot doubt, therefore, that they did overrun the lands claimed by them, and even planted colonies in what is now Ohio ; but that they had any claim, which a Christian nation should have recognised, to most of the territory in question, we cannot for a moment think, as for half a century at least it had been under the rule of other tribes, and, when the differences between France and England began, was, with the exception of the lands just above the head of the Ohio, the place of residence and the hunting-ground of other tribes. ‡

But some of the western lands were also claimed by the British, as having been actually purchased. This purchase was said to have been made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, when a treaty was held between the colonists and the Six Nations relative to some alleged settlements that had been made upon the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland ; and to this treaty we now turn, — thankful that we have a very good and graphic account of it, written by Witham Marshe, who went as secretary with the commissioners for Maryland, and from whom we draw largely in illustration of the times, and the mode of treating with the Indians.

After many days' journey, diversified with villanous bacon and eggs, and fine tongues and hams, "sorry rum and water, called *bumbo*," and generous wine, the Maryland commissioners reached Lancaster upon the 21st of June, before either the governor of Pennsylvania, the Virginia commissioners, or the Indians, had arrived ; though all but the natives came that evening. Having got a good dinner, "to their great comfort," and engaged beds, they went out to look at the town, which had then been settled about sixteen years. They found it well laid out, but very dirty, and inhabited by a mixture of Dutch, Scotch, Irish, English, and Israelites. Most of the houses were of wood, two stories high, and much as they are now, but dirtier. The water was bad, and in dry

* Charlevoix, Vol. II. Paris ed. 1744. p. 252.

† See Charlevoix, La Hontan, Hennepin, Tonti, &c.

‡ "In 1744, when the Lancaster treaty was held with the Six Nations, some of their number were making war upon the Catawbas." — *Marshe's Journal*, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VII., pp. 190, 191.

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weather the air was hot and dusty; and before the houses were heaps of dirt filled with vermin. The market was good, and provisions "prodigiously cheap." It being summer, the commissioners suffered much from the "Dutch fleas," and their auxiliaries; so much, indeed, that many preferred the court-house floor.

The next forenoon wore wearily away, and all were glad to sit down, at one o'clock, to a dinner in the court-house, which the Virginians gave their friends, and from which not many were drawn, even by the coming of the Indians, who came, to the number of two hundred and fifty-two, with squaws and little children on horseback, and with their fire-arms, and bows, and arrows, and tomahawks, and, as they passed the court-house, invited the white men with a song to renew their former treaties. On the outskirts of the town, vacant lots had been chosen for the savages to build their wigwams upon, and thither they marched on with Conrad Weiser, their friend and interpreter,* while the Virginians "drank the loyal healths," and finished their entertainment. After dinner they went out to look at their dark allies, who had few shirts among them, and those black from wear, and who were very ragged and shabby; at all which the well-clad and high-fed colonists bit their lips, but feared to laugh. That afternoon the chiefs and commissioners met at the court-house, "shaked hands," smoked a pipe, and drank "a good quantity of wine and punch." The next day, being Saturday, the English went "to the Dunkers' nunnery," and the Indians drank, and danced, and shrieked. Monday, the speaking began, to the satisfaction of all parties, and ended merrily with dancing, and music, and a great supper. On Tuesday and Wednesday, also, speeches were made, varied by dances, in which appeared some very disagreeable women, who "danced wilder time than any Indians." On Thursday the goods were opened, wherewith the Maryland people wished to buy the Indian claim to the lands on which settlements had been made. These goods were narrowly scanned by the red men, but at last taken for £220 Pennsylvania money, after which they drank punch. Friday, the Six Nations agreed to the grant desired by the Marylanders, and punch was drunk again; and, on Saturday, a dinner was given to the chiefs,

* For some idea of Weiser, see Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II., p. 316, where a long letter by him is given.

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"at which," says Marshe, "they fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished." At this dinner, the Indians bestowed on the governor of Maryland the name of Tocaryhogon, meaning "Living in the honorable place." After this came much drinking, and when that had gone forward some time, the Indians were called on to sign the deed which had been drawn up, and the English again "put about the glass, pretty briskly." Next, the commissioners from Virginia, supported by a due quantity of wine and bumbo, held their conference with the Indians, and received from them "a deed releasing their claim to a large quantity of land lying in that colony;" and upon this it was that a claim to the western lands was founded, as we learn from the pamphlet called "Plain Facts," for Marshe gives us no particulars. From this pamphlet* it would seem, that the Indians were persuaded to give a deed "recognising the King's right to all lands that are, *or by his Majesty's appointment shall be*, within the colony of Virginia." For this they received £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, with a promise that, as settlements increased, more should be paid, which promise was signed and sealed. We need make no comment upon this deed, nor speculate upon the probable amount of bumbo which produced it. The commissioners from Virginia, at this treaty of Lancaster, were Colonel Thomas Lee and Colonel William Beverley.†

On the 5th of July, every thing having been settled satisfactorily, the commissioners left "the filthy town" of Lancaster, and took their homeward way, having suffered much from the vermin and the water, though when they used the latter would be a curious inquiry.

Such was the treaty of Lancaster, upon which, as a corner-stone, the claim of the colonists to the West, by purchase, rested; and upon this, and the grant from the Six Nations, Great Britain relied in all subsequent steps.

As settlements extended, and the Indians murmured, the promise of further pay was called to mind, and Weiser was

* "*Plain Facts, being an Examination, &c., and a Vindication of the Grant from the Six United Nations of Indians to the Proprietors of Indiana* vs. *the Decision of the Legislature of Virginia.* pp. 29 – 39. Philadelphia: R. Aitken. 1781. See also Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 480. — As a general rule we have little faith in party pamphlets; but the one just quoted, so far as we can judge, is accurate as to its main facts.

† Marshe's *Journal.*

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sent across the Alleghanies to Logstown, in 1748,* with presents, to keep the Indians in good humor; and also to sound them, probably, as to their feeling with regard to large settlements in the West, which some Virginians, with Colonel Thomas Lee, the Lancaster commissioner, at their head, were then contemplating.† The object of these proposed settlements was not the cultivation of the soil, but the monopoly of the Indian trade, which, with all its profits, had till that time been in the hands of unprincipled men, half civilized, half savage, who penetrated to the lakes of Canada and competed everywhere with the French for skins and furs; three such "impudent Indian traders" as once took possession of our Secretary Marshe's bed at Lancaster, and were with difficulty driven out. It was now proposed in Virginia to turn these fellows out of their good berth beyond the mountains, by means of a great company, which should hold lands and build trading-houses, import European goods regularly and export the furs of the West in return to London. Accordingly, after Weiser's conference with the Indians at Logstown, which was favorable to their views, Thomas Lee, with twelve other Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington, and also Mr. Hanbury of London, formed an association which they called the "Ohio Company," and in 1748, petitioned the King for a grant beyond the mountains. This petition was approved by the monarch, and the government of Virginia was ordered to grant to the petitioners half a million of acres within the bounds of that colony, beyond the Alleghanies, two hundred thousand of which were to be located at once. This portion was to be held for ten years free of quitrent, provided the company would put there one hundred families within seven years, and build a fort sufficient to protect the settlement; all which the company proposed, and prepared to do at once, and sent to London for a cargo suited to the Indian trade, which was to come out so as to arrive in November, 1749.

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* *Plain Facts*, pp. 40, 119, 120.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 478. Scarce any thing was known of the old Ohio Company, until Mr. Sparks's inquiries led to the note referred to; and even now so little is known, that we cannot but hope some Historical Society will prevail on Mr. Mercer of Virginia, who holds the papers of that Company, to allow their publication. No full history of the West can be written, until the facts relative to the great land companies are better known.

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But the French were not blind all this while. They saw, that, if the British once obtained a strong-hold upon the Ohio, they might not only prevent their settlements upon it, but must at last come upon their lower posts, and so the battle be fought sooner or later. To the danger of the English possessions in the West, Vaudreuil, the French governor, had been long alive. Upon the 10th of May, 1744, he wrote home representing the consequences that must come from allowing the British to build a trading-house among the Creeks ; * and, in November, 1748, he anticipated their seizure of Fort Prudhomme, which was upon the Mississippi below the Ohio. † Nor was it for mere sickly missionary stations that the governor feared ; for, in the year last-named, the Illinois settlements, few as they were, sent flour and corn, the hams of hogs and bears, pickled pork and beef, myrtle wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, iron, copper, some little buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and coarse furs, to the New Orleans market. Even in 1746, from five to six hundred barrels of flour went thither from Illinois, convoys annually going down in December with the produce. ‡ Having these fears, and seeing the danger of the late movements of the British, Gallisonière, then governor of Canada, determined to place, along the Ohio, evidences of the French claim to, and possession of, the country ; and for that purpose, in the summer of 1749, sent Louis Celeron, with a party of soldiers, to place plates of lead, on which were written out the claims of France, in the mounds, and at the mouths of the rivers. § Of this act, William Trent, who was sent out in 1752 by Virginia, to conciliate the Indians, heard while upon the Ohio, and mentioned it in his Journal ; and within a few years, one of the plates, with the inscription partially defaced, has been found near the mouth of the Muskingum. Of this plate, the date upon which is August 16th,

* Pownall's *Memorial on Service in America*, as before quoted. Vaudreuil came out as Governor of Canada in 1755. — *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII., p. 105. See also Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 23.

† Pownall's *Memorial.*

‡ Ibid.

§ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II., p. 430. — Atwater's *History of Ohio*, 1st edition, p. 109. — *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II. pp. 535–541. De Witt Clinton received the plate mentioned in the text from Mr. Atwater, who says it was found at the mouth of the Muskingum, though marked as having been placed at the mouth of Venango (Tenangue) river (French Creek, we presume).

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1749, a particular account was sent, by De Witt Clinton, to the American Antiquarian Society, in whose second volume (p. 535–541) the inscription may be found at length. By this step, the French, perhaps, hoped to quiet the title to the river "Oyo"; but it produced not the least result. In that very year, we are told, a trading-house was built by the English upon the Great Miami, at the spot since called Loramie's Store;* while, from another source we learn, that two traders were, in 1749, seized by the French upon the Maumee. At any rate, the storm was gathering; the English company was determined to carry out its plan, and the French were determined to oppose them.

During 1750, we hear of no step, by either party; but in February, 1751, we find Christopher Gist, the agent who had been appointed by the Ohio Company to examine the western lands, upon a visit to the Twigtwees or Tuigtuis, who lived upon the Miami river, one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth.† In speaking of this tribe, Mr. Gist says nothing of a trading-house among them, (at least in the passage from his Journal quoted by Mr. Sparks,) but he tells us, they left the Wabash for the sake of trading with the English; and we have no doubt, that the spot which he visited was at the mouth of Loramie's Creek, where, as we have said, a trading-house was built about or before this time. Gist says, the Twigtwees were a very numerous people, much superior to the Six Nations, and that they were formerly in the French interest. Wynne speaks of them as the same with the Ottawas; but Gist undoubtedly meant the great Miamis confederacy; for he says, that they are not one tribe, but "many different tribes, under the same form of government."‡ Upon this journey Gist went as far down the Ohio as the Falls, and was gone seven months, though the particulars of his tour are still unknown to us; his Journal, with the exception of one or two passages published by Mr. Sparks, still resting in manuscript.

Having thus generally examined the land upon the Ohio,

* *Contest in America, by an Impartial Hand.* Once this writer speaks of this post as upon the Wabash, but he doubtless meant that on the Miami.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 37.

‡ See Harrison's *Discourse*, already quoted.—Franklin, (Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 71,) speaks of the Piankeshaws, a tribe of the Twigtwees; and again, of the Miamis or Twigtwees (Ibid., Vol. III. p. 72).

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in November Gist commenced a thorough survey of the tract south of the Ohio and east of the Kanawha, which was that on which the Ohio Company proposed to make their first settlement. He spent the winter in that labor. Meanwhile no treaty of a definite character had yet been held with the western Indians; and, as the influence both of the French and of the independent English traders, was against the company, it was thought necessary to do something, and the Virginia government was desired to invite the chiefs to a conference at Logstown, which was done.

All this time the French had not been idle. They not only stirred up the savages, but took measures to fortify certain points on the upper waters of the Ohio, from which all lower posts might be easily attacked, and, beginning at Presqu'Ile, or Erie, on the lake, prepared a line of communication with the Alleghany. This was done by opening a wagon-road from Erie to a little lake lying at the head of French Creek, where a second fort was built, about fifteen miles from that at Erie. When this second fort was fortified we do not clearly learn; but some time in 1752, we believe.* But lest, while these little castles were quietly rising amid the forest, the British also might strengthen themselves too securely to be dislodged, a party of soldiers was sent to keep the Ohio clear; and this party, early in 1752, having heard of the trading-house upon the Miamis, and, very likely, of the visit to it by Gist, came to the Twigtwees and demanded the traders, as unauthorized intruders upon French lands. The Twigtwees, however, were neither cowards nor traitors, and refused to deliver up their friends. † The French then attacked the trading-house, which was probably a block-house, and, after a severe battle, in which fourteen of the natives were killed, and others wounded, took and destroyed it, carrying the traders away to Canada as prisoners, or, as one account says,

* Washington's *Journal*, of 1753. — Mante, in his *History of the War*, says, early in 1753; but there was a post at Erie when the traders were taken, before June, 1752.

† Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 71. — Vol. III. p. 230. *Plain Facts*, p. 42. — *Contest in North America*, &c. p. 36. — *Western Monthly Magazine*, 1833. — This fort was always referred to in the early treaties of the United States with the Indians; see *Land Laws*. — Several other captures beside this are referred to by Franklin and others. The attack on Logstown, spoken of by Smollett and Russell, was doubtless this attack on the Miamis post. Smollett; *George II.* Chap. IX. See also Burk's *Virginia*, Vol. III. p. 170.

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burning some of them alive. This fort, or trading-house, was called by the English writers Pickawillany. *

Such was the fate of the first British settlement in the Ohio valley, of which we have any record. It was destroyed early in 1752, as we know by the fact, that its destruction was referred to by the Indians at the Logstown treaty in June. What traders they were who were taken, we do not know with certainty. Some have thought them agents of the Ohio Company; but Gist's proceedings about the Kenhawa do not favor the idea, neither do the subsequent steps of the company; and in the "History of Pennsylvania," ascribed to Franklin, we find a gift of condolence made by that Province to the Twigtwees for those slain in defence of the traders among them, in 1752, which leads us to believe that they were independent merchants from that colony. Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more deeply interested in the progress of events in the West.

The English, on their part, determined to purchase from the Indians a title to the lands they wished to occupy, by fair means or foul; and, in the spring of 1752, Messrs. Fry, Lomax, and Patton were sent from Virginia to hold a conference with the natives at Logstown, learn what they objected to in the treaty of Lancaster, of which it was said they complained, and settle all difficulties. † On the 9th of June, the commissioners met the red men at Logstown: this was a little village, seventeen miles and a half below Pittsburg, upon the north side of the Ohio. ‡ It had long been a trading-point, but had been abandoned by the Indians in 1750. § Here the Lancaster treaty was produced, and the sale of the western lands insisted upon; but the chiefs said, "No; they had not heard of any sale west of the warrior's road, which ran at the foot of the Alleghany ridge." The commissioners then offered goods for a ratification of the Lancaster treaty; spoke of the proposed settlement by the Ohio Company; and

* A memorial of the King's ministers, in 1755, refers to it as "Pickawillanes, in the centre of the territory between the Ohio and the Wabash." — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 330.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 40. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 480.

‡ Croghan, in his *Journal* says, that Logstown was *south* of the Ohio. (Butler's *Kentucky*, App.) The river is itself nearly north and south at the spot in question; but we always call the Canada side the north side, having reference to the general direction of the stream.

§ Bouquet's *Expedition*. London, 1766. p. 10. — Logstown is given on the map accompanying this volume.

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used all their persuasions to secure the land wanted. Upon the 11th of June, the Indians replied. They recognised the treaty of Lancaster, and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, but denied that they had any knowledge of the western lands being conveyed to the English by said deed; and declined, upon the whole, having any thing to do with the treaty of 1744. "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twigtwees, we shall be pleased to have your assistance and protection, and wish you would build a fort at once at the Fork of the Ohio."* But this permission was not what the Virginians wanted; so they took aside Montour, the interpreter, who was a son of the famous Catherine Montour, † and a chief among the Six Nations, being three-fourths of Indian blood, and persuaded him by valid arguments (of the kind which an Indian most appreciates, doubtless,) to use his influence with his fellows. This he did; and, upon the 13th of June, they all united in signing a deed, confirming the Lancaster treaty *in its full extent*, consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio, and guarantying that it should not be disturbed by them. ‡ By such means was obtained the first treaty with the Indians in the Ohio valley.

All this time the two powers beyond the Atlantic were in a professed state "of profound peace"; and commissioners were at Paris trying to out-manœuvre one another with regard to some of the disputed lands in America, § though in the West all looked like war. We have seen how the English outwitted the Indians, and secured themselves, as they thought, by their politic conduct. But the French, in this as in all cases, proved that they knew best how to manage the natives; and, though they had to contend with the old hatred felt toward them by the Six Nations, and though they by no means refrained from strong acts, marching through

* *Plain Facts*, p. 42.

† For a sketch of this woman, see *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, First Series, Vol. VII. p. 189, or Stone's *Life of Brant*, Vol. I. p. 339. She had two sons, Andrew and Henry. The latter was a captain among the Iroquois, the former a common interpreter, apparently. Andrew was taken by the French in 1749. Which of them was at Logstown we are not told; but, from his influence with the Indians, it was probably Henry.

‡ *Plain Facts*, pp. 38–44. The Virginia commissioners were men of high character, but treated with the Indians according to the ideas of their day.

§ See Smollett; *George II.*, chapters viii. and ix.

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the midst of the Iroquois country, attacking the Twigtwees, and seizing the English traders, nevertheless they did succeed, as the British never did, in attaching the Indians to their cause. As an old chief of the Six Nations said at Easton, in 1758; "The Indians on the Ohio left you because of your own fault. When we heard the French were coming, we asked you for help and arms, but we did not get them. The French came, they treated us kindly, and gained our affections. The Governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit, and, when we wanted help, forsook us."*

So stood matters at the close of 1752. The English had secured (as they thought) a title to the Indian lands southeast of the Ohio, and Gist was at work laying out a town and fort there on Shurtees (Chartier's) Creek, about two miles below the Fork. † Eleven families also were crossing the mountains to settle at the point where Gist had fixed his own residence, west of Laurel Hill, and not far from the Youghiogany. Goods too had come from England for the Ohio Company, which, however, they could not well, and dared not, carry beyond Will's Creek, the point where Cumberland now stands, whence they were taken by the traders and Indians; and there was even some prospect of a road across the mountains to the Monongahela.

On the other hand, the French were gathering cannon and stores upon Lake Erie, and, without treaties or deeds for land, were gaining the good-will of even inimical tribes, and preparing, when all was ready, to strike the blow. Some of the savages, it is true, remonstrated. They said they did not understand this dispute between the Europeans, as to which of them the western lands belonged to, for they did not belong to either. But the French bullied when it served their turn, and flattered when it served their turn, and all the while went on with their preparations, which were in an advanced state early in 1753. ‡

In May of that year, the governor of Pennsylvania informed the Assembly of the French movements, a knowledge of which was derived, in part at least, from Montour, who

* *Plain Facts*, p. 55. — Pownall's *Memoir on Service in North America.*

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 433, 482, and map, p. 38.

‡ See in Washington's *Journal*, the Speech of Half-king to the French commander, and his answer. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 434.

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had been present at a conference between the French and Indians relative to the invasion of the West. * The assembly thereupon voted six hundred pounds for distribution among the tribes, besides two hundred for the present of condolence to the Twigtwees, already mentioned. This money was not sent, but Conrad Weiser was despatched in August to learn how things stood among the Ohio savages. † Virginia was moving also. In June, or earlier, a commissioner was sent westward to meet the French, and ask how they dared invade his Majesty's province. This messenger went to Logstown, but was afraid to go up the Alleghany, as instructed. ‡ Trent was also sent out with guns, powder, shot, and clothing for the friendly Indians; and then it was, that he learned the fact already stated, as to the claim of the French, and their burial of medals in proof of it. While these measures were taken, another treaty with the wild men of the debatable land was also in contemplation; and in September, 1753, William Fairfax met their deputies at Winchester, Virginia, where he concluded a treaty, with the particulars of which we are unacquainted, but on which, we are told, was an indorsement, stating that such was their feeling, that *he had not dared to mention to them either the Lancaster or the Logstown treaty;* § a most sad comment upon the modes taken to obtain those grants.

Soon after this, no satisfaction being obtained from the Ohio, either as to the force, position, or purposes of the French, Robert Dinwiddie, then Governor of Virginia, determined to send to them another messenger, and selected a young surveyor, who, at the age of nineteen, had received the rank of major, and whose previous life had inured him to hardship and woodland ways, while his courage, cool judgment, and firm will, all fitted him for such a mission. This young man, as all know, was George Washington, who was twenty-one years and eight months old, at the time of the appointment. ‖ With Gist as his guide, Washington left Will's Creek, where Cumberland now is, on the 15th of November, and, on the 22d, reached the Monongahela about ten miles above the Fork. Thence he went to Logstown, where he had long conferences with the chiefs

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 219.
† Ibid. p. 230.
‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 430.
§ *Plain Facts*, p. 44.
‖ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 428-447.

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of the Six Nations living in that neighbourhood. Here he learned the position of the French upon the *Rivière aux Bœufs*, and the condition of their forts. He heard also that they had determined not to come down the river till the following spring, but had warned all the Indians, that, if they did not keep still, the whole French force would be turned upon them; and that, if they and the English were equally strong, they would divide the land between them, and cut off all the natives. These threats, and the mingled kindness and severity of the French, had produced the desired effect. Shingiss, king of the Delawares, feared to meet Washington, and the Shannoah (Shawanee) chiefs would not come either. *

The truth was, these Indians were in a very awkward position. They could not resist the Europeans, and knew not which to side with; so that a non-committal policy was much the safest, and they were wise not to return by Washington (as he desired they should) the wampum received from the French, as that would have been equivalent to breaking with them.

Finding that nothing could be done with these people, Washington left Logstown on the 30th of November, and, travelling amid cold and rain, reached Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek, on the 4th of the next month. Here he found the French, with their wine, and self-confidence, and other comfortable things; and here, through the rum, and the flattery, and the persuasions of his enemies, he very nearly lost all his Indians, even his old friend the Half-king. Patience and good faith conquered, however, and, after another pull through mires and creeks, snow, rain, and cold, upon the 11th he reached the fort at the head of French Creek. Here he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter, took his observations, received his answer, and upon the 16th set out upon his return journey, having had to combat every art and trick, "which the most fruitful brain could suggest," in order to get his Indians away with him. Flattery, and liquor, and guns, and provision were showered upon the Half-king and his comrades, while Washington himself received bows, and smirks, and compliments, and a plentiful store of creature-comforts also.

* Shingiss, or Shingask, was the great Delaware warrior of that day, and did the British much mischief. — See Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 64.

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From Venango, Washington and Gist went on foot, leaving their Indian friends to the tender mercies of the French. Of their hardships and dangers, we need say nothing; every schoolboy knows them.* In spite of them, however, they reached Will's Creek, on the 6th of January, well and sound. During the absence of the young messenger, steps had been taken to fortify and settle the point formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany; and, while upon his return, he met "seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio," and, soon after, "some families going out to settle." These steps were taken by the Ohio Company; but, as soon as Washington returned with the letter of St. Pierre, the commander on French Creek, and it was perfectly clear that neither he nor his superiors meant to yield the West without a struggle, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Board of Trade, stating, that the French were building another fort at Venango, and that in March twelve or fifteen hundred men would be ready to descend the river with their Indian allies, for which purpose three hundred canoes had been collected; and that Logstown was then to be made head-quarters, while forts were built in various other positions, and the whole country occupied. He also sent expresses to the governors of Pennsylvania and New York, calling upon them for assistance; and, with the advice of his council, proceeded to enlist two companies, one of which was to be raised by Washington, the other by Trent, who was a frontier man. This last was to be raised upon the frontiers, and proceed at once to the Fork of the Ohio, there to complete in the best manner, and as soon as possible, the fort begun by the Ohio Company; and in case of attack, or any attempt to resist the settlements, or obstruct the works, those resisting were to be taken, or if need were, killed. †

While Virginia was taking these strong measures, which were fully authorized by the letter of the Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State,‡ written in the previous August, and which directed the governors of the various provinces, after representing to those who were invading his Majesty's

* Three out of five men who went with Washington, were so badly frost-bitten as to become unable to go on. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 55.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 1, 431, 446.—Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 254.

‡ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 251, where the letter is given.

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dominions the injustice of the act, to call out the armed force of the province, and repel force by force; — while Virginia was thus acting, Pennsylvania was discussing the question, whether the French were invading his Majesty's dominions, — the governor on one side, and the Assembly on the other,* — and New York was preparing to hold a conference with the Six Nations, in obedience to orders from the Board of Trade, written in September, 1753.† These orders had been sent out in consequence of the report in England, that the natives would side with the French, because dissatisfied with the occupancy of their lands by the English; and simultaneous orders were sent to the other provinces, directing the governors to recommend their Assemblies to send commissioners to Albany to attend this grand treaty, which was to heal all wounds. New York, however, was more generous when called on by Virginia, than her neighbour on the south, and voted, for the assistance of that colony, five thousand pounds currency.‡

It was now April, 1754. The fort at Venango was finished, and all along the line of French Creek troops were gathering; and the wilderness echoed the strange sounds of a European camp, — the watchword, the command, the clang of muskets, the uproar of soldiers, the cry of the sutler; and with these were mingled the shrieks of drunken Indians, won over from their old friendship by rum and soft words. Scouts were abroad, and little groups formed about the tents or huts of the officers, to learn the movements of the British. Canoes were gathering, and cannon were painfully hauled here and there. All was movement and activity among the old forests, and on hill-sides, covered already with young wild flowers, from Lake Erie to the Alleghany. In Philadelphia, meanwhile, Governor Hamilton, in no amiable mood, had summoned the Assembly, and asked them if they meant to help the King in the defence of his dominions; and had desired them, above all things, to do whatever they meant to do, quickly. The Assembly debated, and resolved to aid the King with a little money, and then debated again and voted not to aid him with any money at all, for some would not give less than ten thousand pounds, and others would not give more than five thousand pounds; and so, nothing being

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 254–263.
† *Plain Facts*, pp. 45, 46. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 253.
‡ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1st Ser. Vol. VII. p. 73.

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practicable, they adjourned upon the 10th of April until the 13th of May. *

In New York, a little, and only a little better spirit, was at work ; nor was this strange, as her direct interest was much less than that of Pennsylvania. Five thousand pounds, indeed was voted to Virginia ; but the Assembly questioned the invasion of his Majesty's dominions by the French, and it was not till June that the money voted was sent forward. †

The Old Dominion, however, was all alive. As, under the provincial law, the militia could not be called forth to march more than five miles beyond the bounds of the colony, and as it was doubtful if the French were within Virginia, it was determined to rely upon volunteers. Ten thousand pounds had been voted by the Assembly ; so the two companies were now increased to six, and Washington was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and made second in command under Joshua Fry. Ten cannon, lately from England, were forwarded from Alexandria ; wagons were got ready to carry westward provisions and stores through the heavy spring roads ; and everywhere along the Potomac men were enlisting, — or weighing the Governor's proclamation, which promised to those that should serve in that war, two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, — or, already enlisted, were gathering into grave knots, or marching forward to the field of action, or helping on the thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder, which the King had sent out for the western forts. Along the Potomac they were gathering, as far as to Will's Creek ; and far beyond Will's Creek, whither Trent had come for assistance, his little band of forty-one men were working away, in hunger and want, to fortify that point at the Fork of the Ohio, to which both parties were looking with deep interest. The first birds of spring filled the forests with their song ; the red-bud and dogwood were here and there putting forth their flowers on the steep Alleghany hill-sides, and the swift river below swept by, swollen by the melting snows and April showers ; a few Indian scouts were seen, but no enemy seemed near at hand ; and all was so quiet, that Frazier, an old Indian trader, who had been left by Trent in command of the new fort, ven-

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 264, 265.

† *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1st Ser. Vol. VII. pp. 72, 73, and note.

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tured to his home at the mouth of Turtle Creek, ten miles up the Monongahela. But, though all was so quiet in that wilderness, keen eyes had seen the low entrenchment that was rising at the Fork, and swift feet had borne the news of it up the valley; and, upon the 17th of April, Ensign Ward, who then had charge of it, saw upon the Alleghany a sight that made his heart sink, — sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, filled with men, and laden deep with cannon and stores. The fort was called on to surrender; by the advice of the Half-king, Ward tried to evade the act, but it would not do; Contrecœur, with a thousand men about him, said "Evacuate," and the ensign dared not refuse. That evening he supped with his captor, and the next day was bowed off by the Frenchman, and, with his men and tools, marched up the Monongahela. From that day began the war. *

Of the early events of this war in Virginia we need say nothing. It was but recently that they were detailed upon our pages. The march toward Red Stone Creek, the affair with Jumonville, the battle of the Great Meadows, with the sufferings and perseverance of the troops, the troubles of Washington, and the conduct of the French, must be fresh in the minds of those who read our last October number.† But while these things were doing at the south, while the captors of the works at the Fork were, at a better point, raising other works, (called Fort Du Quesne, after the governor of Canada,) with "walls two fathoms thick," and, by means of presents, were gaining the good-will of the savages, and making themselves acquainted with the woods and hills in all directions, there was much doing also in Pennsylvania and New York.

In Pennsylvania, the governor and Assembly scolded each other much in the old way; but the latter sanctioned the choice of commissioners that had been made by the former to attend the Albany treaty, and even granted a present for

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. The number of French troops was probably overstated, but to the captives there was a round thousand. Burk, in his history of Virginia, speaks of the taking of Logstown by the French; but Logstown was never a post of the Ohio Company as he represents it, as is plain from all contemporary letters and accounts. Burk's ignorance of Western matters is clear in this, that he says the French *dropped down* from Fort Du Quesne to Presqu'île and Venango; they, or part of them, did drop down the Ohio, but surely not to posts, one of which was on Lake Erie, and the other far up the Alleghany!

† *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII. pp. 350 *et seq.*

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the Indians.* This proposed meeting at Albany was not, however, merely for the purpose of holding a conference with the Six Nations; for it was now suggested to form a union among the colonies to manage Indian affairs and provide for the common defence; and, though this suggestion was vague, and no provincial legislature but that of Massachusetts instructed its delegates with regard to it, it was undoubtedly in the minds of all. Franklin, who was one of the commissioners from Pennsylvania, had sketched a Plan of Union before reaching Albany. †

The day appointed for the meeting of the commissioners was the 14th of June, but it was the 18th or 19th before they got together. There were present delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. ‡ Virginia did not send any, for she was interested in immediate action, and, hoping to have with her against the French both the Six Nations and the Southern Indians, (Cherokees, &c.), who had hitherto been at enmity, she proposed a treaty at Winchester in May, where all differences might be settled, and the opposing tribes united. Her plan, however, entirely failed, because so few of the natives attended. At Albany things went not much better; the attendance was small, and those who came were cross and bold. Hendrick, the Mohawk Sachem, told the Congress very plain truths, such as that the French were men, and they women; to which the Congress, on their part, listened gravely, and gave the presents which had been confided to them; but of the treaty we hear little, save that it was a renewal of existing ones. § The commissioners, however, were moving in the matter of union, upon the necessity of which they all agreed, and appointed a committee, one from each colony, to draw up a plan. From among those presented to this committee it selected Franklin's, which, upon the 10th or 11th of July, was adopted by the convention. It is not our purpose to give any sketch of this well-known paper, nor to trace its fate. It is enough to say, that it was universally rejected in America and England. It was

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 276.

† Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 22, 276.

‡ Ibid.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*. First Series, Vol. VII. p. 76. — *Plain Facts*, pp. 47–50.

§ Smollett's *George II.* chap. ix.

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at, or near this time, also, that Franklin drew up his plan for settling two barrier colonies upon the Ohio River, one at the mouth of the Scioto, the other below French Creek; a plan which, like the Albany plan of union, produced no result.

It was now the fall of 1754. Fort Cumberland had been built on Will's Creek, the North Carolina troops had been disbanded from want of money, and the Virginia frontiers were defended by some companies from New York and South Carolina, which were in the pay of the King, together with a few Maryland and Virginia volunteers. Virginia herself had, meantime, changed her military establishment; and, having raised forty thousand pounds at home and abroad, had increased her six companies to ten, and degraded all her higher officers to the rank of captain; a step, which, among other results, led to the resignation of his place by Washington, who retired for the time to Mount Vernon.*

In Pennsylvania, Morris, who had succeeded Hamilton, was busily occupied with making speeches to the Assembly and listening to their stubborn replies;† while in the North the Kennebec was fortified, and a plan talked over for attacking Crown Point on Lake Champlain the next spring;‡ and in the South things went on much as if there were no war coming. All the colonies united in one thing, however, — in calling loudly on the mother country for help. During this same autumn the pleasant Frenchmen were securing the West, step by step; settling Vincennes, gallanting with the Delawares, and coquetting with the Iroquois, who still balanced between them and the English. The forests along the Ohio shed their leaves, and the prairies filled the sky with the smoke of their burning; and along the great rivers, and on the lakes, and amid the pathless woods of the West, no European was seen, whose tongue spoke other language than that of France. So closed 1754.

The next year opened with professions, on both sides, of the most peaceful intentions, and preparations on both sides to push the war vigorously. France, in January, proposed to restore every thing to the state it was in before the last war, and to refer all claims to commissioners at Paris; to which Britain, upon the 22d, replied, that the West of North Amer-

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 63, 64, &c.
† Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 282.
‡ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 88.

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ica must be left as it was at the treaty of Utrecht. On the 6th of February, France made answer, that the old English claims in America were untenable; and offered a new ground of compromise, viz. that the English should retire east of the Alleghanies, and the French west of the Ohio. This offer was long considered, and at length was agreed to by England on the 7th of March, *provided* the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches; to which, after twenty days had passed, France said, "No."* While all this negotiation was going on, other things also had been in motion. General Braddock, with his gallant troops, had crossed the Atlantic, and, upon the 20th of February, had landed in Virginia, commander-in-chief of all the land forces in America; and in the North all this while there was whispering of, and enlisting for, the proposed attack on Crown Point; and even Niagara, far off by the Falls, was to be taken, in case nothing prevented. In France, too, other work had been done than negotiation; for at Brest and Rochelle ships were fitting out, and troops gathering, and stores crowding in. Even old England herself had not been all asleep, and Boscawen had been busy at Plymouth, hurrying on the slow workmen, and gathering the unready sailors.† In March, the two European neighbours were smiling and doing their best to quiet all troubles; in April they still smiled, but the fleets of both were crowding sail across the Atlantic; and, in Alexandria, Braddock, Shirley, and their fellow-officers were taking counsel as to the summer's campaign.

In America four points were to be attacked; Fort Du Quesne, Crown Point, Niagara, and the French posts in Nova Scotia. On the 20th of April, Braddock left Alexandria to march upon Du Quesne, whither he was expressly ordered, though the officers in America looked upon it as a mistaken movement, as they thought New York should be the main point for regular operations. The expedition for Nova Scotia, consisting of three thousand Massachusetts men, left Boston on the 20th of May; while the troops which General Shirley was to lead against Niagara, and the provincials which William Johnson was to head in the attack upon Crown Point, slowly collected at Albany.

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* *Plain Facts*, pp. 51, 52. — *Secret Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 74.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 68. — *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 89. — Smollett. *George II.* chap. x.

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May and June passed away, and midsummer drew nigh. The fearful and desponding colonists waited anxiously for news; and, when the news came that Nova Scotia had been conquered, and that Boscawen had taken two of the French men of war, and lay before Louisburg, hope and joy spread everywhere. July passed away, too, and men heard how slowly and painfully Braddock made progress through the wilderness, how his contractors deceived him, and the colonies gave little help, and neither horses nor wagons could be had, and only one Benjamin Franklin sent any aid;* and then reports came that he had been forced to leave many of his troops, and much of his baggage and artillery, behind him; and then, about the middle of the month, through Virginia there went a whisper, that the great general had been defeated and wholly cut off; and, as man after man rode down the Potomac confirming it, the planters hastily mounted, and were off to consult with their neighbours; the country turned out; companies were formed to march to the frontiers; sermons were preached; and every heart and every mouth was full. In Pennsylvania the Assembly were called together to hear the "shocking news"; and in New York it struck terror into those who were there gathered to attack the northern posts. Soldiers deserted; the bateaux-men dispersed; and when at length Shirley, since Braddock's death the commander-in-chief, managed with infinite labor to reach Oswego on Lake Ontario, it was too late and stormy, and his force too feeble, to allow him to do more than garrison that point, and march back to Albany again.† Johnson did better; for he met and defeated Baron Dieskau upon the banks of Lake George, though Crown Point was not taken, nor even attacked.

Although the doings of 1755 could not be well looked on as of a very amicable character, war was not declared by either France or England, until May of the following year; and even then France was the last to proclaim the contest which she had been so long carrying on, though more than three hundred of her merchant vessels had been taken by British privateers. The causes of this proceeding are not very clear to us. France thought, beyond doubt, that George

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 77, &c. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. VII. p. 94, &c.

† For a full account of Shirley's Expedition, see the paper in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII.

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would fear to declare war, because Hanover was so exposed to her attacks; but why the British movements, upon the sea particularly, did not lead to the declaration on her part, is not easily to be guessed. Early in 1756, however, both kingdoms formed alliances in Europe; France with Austria, Russia, and Sweden; England with the Great Frederic. And then commenced forthwith the Seven Years' War, wherein most of Europe, North America, and the East and West Indies all partook and suffered.

Into the details of that war we cannot enter; not even into those of the contest in North America. We can but say, that, though during 1756 it was proposed to attack Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Du Quesne, neither was attacked; for Montcalm took the forts at Oswego, which he destroyed to quiet the jealousy of the Iroquois, within whose territory they were built, and this stroke seemed to paralyze all arms. One bold blow was made by Armstrong at Kittaning, on the Alleghany, in September,* and the frontiers of Pennsylvania for a time were made safe; but otherwise the year in America wore out with little result.

During the next year, 1757, nothing took place, but the capture of Fort William Henry, by Montcalm, and the massacre of its garrison by his Indians; a scene, of which the readers of Cooper's novels need scarce be reminded. This, and the near destruction of the British fleet by a gale off Louisburg, were the leading events of this dark season; and no wonder that fear and despair sank deep into the hearts of the colonists. Nor was it in America alone, that Britain suffered during that summer. On the continent Frederic was borne down; in the Mediterranean she had been defeated, and all was dark in the East; and, to add to the weight of these misfortunes, many of them came upon Pitt, the popular minister.†

But the year 1758 opened under a new star. On sea and land, in Asia, Europe, and America, Britain regained what had been lost. The Austrians, Russians, and Swedes, all gave way before the great Captain of Prussia, and Pitt sent his own strong, and hopeful, and energetic spirit into his subalterns. In North America Louisburg yielded to Boscawen; Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet; and Du Quesne was

* Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 73. — Burk's *Virginia*, Vol. III. p. 221.
† He returned to office, June 29th, 1757.

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abandoned upon the approach of Forbes through Pennsylvania. From that time, the post at the Fork of the Ohio was Fort Pitt.

In this last capture, as more particularly connected with the West, we are now chiefly interested. The details of the gathering and the march may be seen in the letters of Washington, who, in opposition to Colonel Bouquet, was in favor of crossing the mountains by Braddock's road, whereas Bouquet wished to cut a new one through Pennsylvania. In this division, Bouquet was listened to by the general; and late in the season a new route was undertaken, by which such delays and troubles were produced, that the whole expedition came near proving a failure. Braddock's road had, in early times, been selected by the most experienced Indians and frontier men as the most favorable whereby to cross the mountains, being nearly the route by which the national road has been since carried over them. In 1753, it was opened by the Ohio Company. It was afterward improved by the Provincial troops under Washington, and was finished by Braddock's engineers;* and this route was now to be given up, and a wholly new one opened, probably, as Washington suggested, through Pennsylvania influence, that her frontiers might thereby be protected, and a way opened for her traders. The hardships and dangers of the march from Raystown to Fort Du Quesne, where the British van arrived upon the 25th of November, may be seen slightly pictured in the letters of Washington and the second Journal of Post,† and may be more vividly conceived by those who have passed through the valley of the upper Juniata.‡

But, turning from this march, let us look at the position of

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 302.

† Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Appendix.

‡ While upon this march, General Forbes was so sick that he was carried in a close litter, and to this the officers went to receive their orders. An anecdote was afterwards told of some inimical Indian chiefs, who came to the army on an embassy, and who, observing that from this close litter came all commands, asked the reason. The British officers, thinking the savages would despise their General, if told he was sick, were at first puzzled what answer to make; but in a moment one of them spoke out, and said, that in that litter was their General, who was so fierce and strong that he felt it necessary to bind himself, hand and foot, and lie still until he came to the enemy's country, lest he should do the ambassadors, or even his own men, a mischief. The red men gave their usual grunt, and placed some miles of forest between themselves and this fierce chieftain as soon as possible.

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things in the West, during the autumn of 1758. We have said, that in the outset the French did their utmost to alienate the Six Nations and Delawares from their old connexion with the British; and so politic were their movements, so accurate their knowledge of Indian character, that they fully succeeded. The English, as we have seen, had made most foolish and iniquitous attempts to get a claim to the Western lands, and by rum and bumbo had even obtained written grants of those lands; but when the rum had evaporated, the wild men saw how they had been deceived, and listened not unwillingly to the French professions of friendship, backed as they were by presents and politeness, and accompanied by no attempts to buy or wheedle land from them.* Early, therefore, many of the old allies of England joined her enemies; and the treaties of Albany, Johnson Hall, and Easton† did little or nothing toward stopping the desolation of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Quakers always believed, that this state of enmity between the Delawares and themselves, or their rulers, might be prevented by a little friendly communion; but the persuasions of the French, the renegade English traders, and the low Irish Catholics, who had gone into the West, were great obstacles to any friendly conversation on the one side, and the common feeling among the whites was an equal difficulty on the other. In the autumn of 1756, a treaty was held at Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares,‡ and peace agreed to. But this did not bind the Ohio Indians even of the same nation, much less the Shawanese and Mingoes; and though the Sachem of the Pennsylvania savages, Teedyuscung, promised to call to his western relatives with a loud voice, they did not, or would not hear him; the tomahawk and brand still shone among the rocky mountain fastnesses of the interior. Nor can any heart but pity the red men. They knew not whom

* See Post's *Journals;* Pownall's *Memoir, on Service in North America.*

† Many treaties were made between 1753 and 1758, which amounted to little or nothing. See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 97. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 436, 450, 471, &c. — Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. App.; Friendly Association's *Address*, and Post's *Journals.* There were two Easton treaties; one with the Pennsylvania Delawares, in 1756, the other with all the Indians, in 1758. — See also, in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. p. 331, an inquiry into the causes of quarrel with the Indians, and extracts from treaties, &c.

‡ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. VII. p. 125.

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to believe, nor where to look for a true friend. The French said they came to defend them from the English; the English said they came to defend them from the French; and between the two powers they were wasting away, and their homes disappearing before them. "The kings of France and England," said Teedyuscung, "have settled this land so as to coop us up as if in a pen. This very ground that is under me was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud." Such being the feeling of the natives, and success being of late nearly balanced between the two European powers, no wonder that they hung doubting, and knew not which way to turn. The French wished the Eastern Delawares to move west, so as to bring them within their influence;* and the British tried to persuade them to prevail on their western brethren to leave their new allies and be at peace.

In 1758, the condition of affairs being as stated, and Forbes's army on the eve of starting for Fort Du Quesne, and the French being also disheartened by the British success elsewhere, and their force at Du Quesne weak, — it was determined to make an effort to draw the western Indians over, and thereby still further to weaken the force that would oppose General Forbes. It was no easy matter, however, to find a true and trustworthy man, whose courage, skill, ability, knowledge, and physical power, would fit him for such a mission. He was to pass through a wilderness filled with doubtful friends, into a country filled with open enemies. The whole French interest would be against him, and the Indians of the Ohio were little to be trusted. Every stream on his way had been dyed with blood, every hill-side had rung with the death-yell, and grown red in the light of burning huts. The man who was at last chosen was a Moravian, who had lived among the savages seventeen years, and married among them; his name Christian Frederic Post. Of his journey, sufferings, and doings, we have his own journal, though Heckewelder tells us, that those parts which redound most to his own credit, he omitted when printing it. He left Philadelphia upon the 15th of July, 1758; and, against the protestations of Teedyuscung, who said he would surely lose his life, proceeded up the Susquehannah, — pass-

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 53.

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ing "many plantations deserted and laid waste." Upon the 7th of August, he came to the Alleghany, opposite French Creek, and was forced to pass under the very eyes of the garrison of Fort Venango, but was not molested. From Venango he went to "Kushkushkee," which was on or near Big Beaver Creek. This place, he says, contained ninety houses and two hundred able warriors. At this place Post had much talk with the chiefs, who seemed well disposed, but somewhat afraid of the French. The great conference, however, it was determined should be held opposite Fort Du Quesne, where there were Indians of eight nations. The messenger was at first unwilling to go thither, fearing the French would seize him; but the savages said, "they would carry him in their bosom, he need fear nothing," and they well redeemed this promise. On the 24th of August, Post, with his Indian friends, reached the point opposite the Fort; and there immediately followed a series of speeches, explanations, and agreements, for which we must refer to his Journal. At first he was received rather hardly by an old and deaf Onondago, who claimed the land whereon they stood as belonging to the Six Nations; but a Delaware rebuked him in no very polite terms. "That man speaks not as a man," he said; "he endeavours to frighten us by saying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father (the French) have certainly drunk too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they are sober. You do not know what your own nation does at home, how much they have to say to the English. You are quite rotten. You stink. You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak to you."

It was clear that the Delawares, and indeed all the western Indians, were wavering in their affection for the French; and, though some opposition was made to a union with the colonists, the general feeling, produced by the prospect of a quick approach by Forbes's army, and by the truth and kindness of Post himself, was in favor of England. The Indians, however, complained bitterly of the disposition which the whites showed in claiming and seizing their lands. "Why did you not fight your battles at home, or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?" they asked, again and again; and were mournful when they thought of the future. "*Your* heart is good," they said to Post, "*you* speak sin-

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cerely: but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich; they never have enough; look! we do not want to be rich, and take away what others have." "The white people think we have no brains in our heads; that they are big, and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." When the war of Pontiac came, this saying might have been justly remembered.

At length, having concluded a pretty definite peace, Post returned toward Philadelphia, setting out upon the 9th of September; and, after the greatest sufferings and perils from French scouts and Indians, reached the settlements uninjured.

At Easton, meantime, had been gathering another great council, at which were present "the eight United Nations, (the Iroquois,) and their confederates;" with all of whom, during October, peace was concluded. Of the particulars of this treaty we know nothing; from a note in Burk's "History of Virginia," * we find, that the Iroquois were very angry at the prominence of Teedyuscung; but further than this, and that peace was made, and notice of it sent to the western Indians, we hear not a word of this final peace-making. With the messengers to the West, Post was sent back, within five weeks after his return. He followed after General Forbes, from whom he received messages to the various tribes, with which he once more sought their chiefs; and was again very instrumental in preventing any junction of the Indians with the French. Indeed, but for Post's mission, there would in all probability have been gathered a strong force of western savages to waylay Forbes and defend Fort Du Quesne; in which case, so adverse was the season and the way, so wearied the men, and so badly managed the whole business, that there would have been great danger of a second "Braddock's field"; so that our humble Moravian friend played no unimportant part in securing to his British Majesty again the key to western America.

With the fall of Fort Du Quesne, all direct contest between the French and British in the West ceased. From that time Canada was the only scene of operations, though garrisons for a while remained in the forts on French Creek. In 1759, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and at length Quebec

* Vol. III. p. 239.

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itself, yielded to the English; and, on the 8th of September, 1760, Montreal, Detroit, and all Canada, were given up by Vaudreuil, the French governor.

But the French had not been the only dwellers in western America; and, when they were gone, the colonists still saw before them clouds of dark and jealous warriors. Indeed, no sooner were the Delawares quiet in the north, than the Cherokees, who had been assisting Virginia against her foes, were roused to war by the thoughtless and cruel conduct of the frontier men, who shot several of that tribe, because they took some horses which they found running at large in the woods. The ill-feeling bred by this act was eagerly fostered by the French in Louisiana; and, while Amherst and Wolfe were pushing the war into Canada, the frontiers of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, were writhing under the horrors of Indian invasion. This Cherokee war continued through 1760, and into 1761, but was terminated in the summer of the last-named year by Colonel Grant. We should be glad to enter somewhat at large into the events of it, as then came forward two of the most remarkable chiefs of that day, the Great Warrior, and the Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla); but our limits will not permit this, and we must refer our readers to the second volume of Thatcher's "Indian Biography."

Along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and northern Virginia, the old plantations had been, one by one, reoccupied since 1758, and settlers were slowly pushing further into the Indian country, and traders were once more bearing their burdens over the mountains, and finding a way into the wigwams of the natives, who rested, watching silently, but narrowly, the course of their English defenders and allies. For it was, professedly, in the character of defenders, that Braddock and Forbes had come into the West; * and, while every British finger itched for the lands as well as the furs of the wild men, with mistaken hypocrisy they would have persuaded them that the treasure and the life of England had been given to preserve her old allies, the Six Nations, and their dependents, the Delawares and Shawanese, from French aggression. But the savages knew whom they had to deal with, and looked at every step of the cultivator with jealousy and hate.

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 328. — Post's Journals show how full of jealousy the Indians were; see there also Forbes's letter, sent by him.

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In 1760, the Ohio Company once more prepared to pursue their old plan, and sent to England for such orders and instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to do so.* During the summer of that year, also, General Monkton, by a treaty at Fort Pitt, obtained leave to build posts within the wild lands, each post having ground enough about it whereon to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison. † Nor, if we can credit one writer, were the settlements of the Ohio Company, and the forts, the only inroads upon the hunting-grounds of the savages; for he says, that in 1757, by the books of the Secretary of Virginia, three millions of acres had been granted west of the mountains. Indeed, we know that in 1758 she tried by law to encourage settlements in the West; and the report of John Blair, Clerk of the Virginia Council, in 1768 or 1769, states, that most of the grants beyond the mountains were made before August, 1754. ‡ At any rate, it is clear that the Indians early began to murmur; for, in 1762, Bouquet issued his proclamation from Fort Pitt, saying that the treaty of Easton, in 1758, secured to the red men all lands west of the mountains as hunting-grounds; wherefore he forbids all settlements, and orders the arrest of the traders and settlers who were spreading discontent and fear among the Ohio Indians. §

But if the Ohio Indians were early ill-disposed to the English, much more was this the case among those lake tribes, who had known only the French, and were strongly attached to them; the Ottaways, Wyandots, and Chippeways. The first visit which they received from the British was after the surrender of Vaudreuil, when Major Robert Rogers was sent to take charge of Detroit. ‖ He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, and, on the 8th of October, reached Presqu'Ile, where Bouquet then commanded. Thence he went slowly up Lake Erie, having despatched by land forty bullocks as a supply, when near or at Detroit, which place he summoned to yield itself upon the 19th of November. It was, if we mistake not,

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* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 482. — *Plain Facts*, p. 120, where a letter from the Company, dated September 9th, 1761, is given.

† Dated August 20th. *Plain Facts*, pp. 55, 56.

‡ *Contest in North America, by an Impartial Hand.* p. 36. — *Secret Journals*, Vol. III. p. 187. — *Plain Facts.* Appendix.

§ *Plain Facts*, p. 56. — See Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 64.

‖ See his *Journal*, London, 1765. Also, his *Concise Account of North America.* London. 1765.

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while waiting for an answer to this summons, that he was visited by the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, who demanded how the English dared enter his country; to which the answer was given, that they came, not to take the country, but to open a free way of trade, and to put out the French, who stopped their trade. This answer, together with other moderate and kindly words, spoken by Rogers, seemed to lull the rising fears of the savages, and Pontiac promised him his protection.

Beleter, meantime, who commanded at Detroit, had not yielded; nay, word was brought to Rogers on the 24th, that his messenger had been confined, and a flag-pole erected, with a wooden head upon it, to represent Britain, on which stood a crow picking the eyes out, — as emblematic of the success of France. In a few days, however, the commander heard of the fate of the lower posts, and, as his Indians did not stand by him, on the 29th he yielded. Rogers remained at Detroit until December 23d, under the personal protection of Pontiac, to whose presence he probably owed his safety. From Detroit the Major went to the Maumee, and thence across the present State of Ohio to Fort Pitt; and his Journal of this overland trip is the first which we have of such an one in that region. His route was nearly that given by Hutchins,* in Bouquet's "Expedition," as the common one from Sandusky to the Fork of the Ohio. It went from Fort Sandusky, where Portland now is, crossed the Huron river, then called Bald Eagle Creek, to "Mohickon John's Town," upon what we know as Mohican Creek, the northern branch of White Woman's River, and thence crossed to Beaver's Town, a Delaware town on the west side of the "Maskongam Creek," opposite "a fine river," which, from Hutchins's map, we presume was Sandy Creek. At Beaver's Town were one hundred and eighty warriors, and not less than three thousand acres of cleared land. From there the track went up Sandy Creek and across to the Big Beaver, and up the Ohio, through Logstown, to Fort Pitt, which place Rogers reached January 23d, 1760, precisely one month having passed while he was upon the way.

In the spring of the year following Rogers's visit (1761), Alexander Henry, an English trader, went to Missillimacanac

* Thomas Hutchins, afterwards Geographer of the United States, was, in 1764, assistant engineer on Bouquet's expedition.

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for purposes of business, and he found everywhere the strongest feeling against the English, who had done nothing by word or act to conciliate the Indians. Even then there were threats of reprisals and war. Having, by means of a Canadian dress, managed to reach Missilimacanac in safety, he was there discovered, and was waited on by an Indian chief, who was, in the opinion of Thatcher, Pontiac himself. This chief, after conveying to him the idea, that their French father would soon awake and utterly destroy his enemies, continued ;

" Englishman ! Although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us ! We are not your slaves ! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

He then spoke of the fact, that no treaty had been made with them, no presents sent them ; and while he announced their intention to allow Henry to trade unmolested, and to regard him as a brother, he declared, that with his king the red men were still at war.*

Such were the feelings of the northwestern savages immediately after the English took possession of their lands ; and these feelings were in all probability fostered and increased by the Canadians and French. Distrust of the British was general ; and, as the war between France and England still went on in other lands, there was hope among the Canadians, perhaps, that the French power might be restored in America. However this may have been, it is clear, that disaffection spread rapidly in the West, though of the details of the years from 1759 to 1763 we know hardly any thing.

Upon the 10th of February, 1763, the treaty of Paris was concluded, and peace between the European powers restored. Then once more men began to think seriously of the West. Pamphlets were published upon the advantages of settlements on the Ohio. Colonel Mercer was chosen to represent the old Company in England, and try to have their affairs made

* *Travels* of Alexander Henry in Canada, from 1760 to 1776. New York. 1809. — Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. pp. 75, *et seq.*

† Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 86.

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straight, for there were counter-claims by the soldiers who had enlisted, in 1754, under Dinwiddie's proclamation; and on all hands there were preparations for movement. But, even at that moment, there existed through the whole West a conspiracy or agreement among the Indians, from Lake Michigan to the frontiers of North Carolina, by which they were with one accord, with one spirit, to fall upon the whole line of British posts and strike every white man dead. Chippeways, Ottawas, Wyandots, Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares, and Mingoes for the time laid by their old hostile feelings, and united under Pontiac in this great enterprise. The voice of that sagacious and noble man was heard in the distant north, crying, "Why, says the Great Spirit, do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress, I will help you."

That voice was heard, but not by the whites. The unsuspecting traders journeyed from village to village; the soldiers in the forts shrunk from the sun of the early summer, and dozed away the day; the frontier settler, singing in fancied security, sowed his crop, or, watching the sunset through the girdled trees, mused upon one more peaceful harvest, and told his children of the horrors of the ten years' war, now, — thank God! over. From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi the trees had leaved, and all was calm life and joy. But through that great country, even then, bands of sullen red men were journeying from the central valleys to the lakes of the Eastern hills. Bands of Chippeways gathered about Missilimacanac. Ottawas filled the woods near Detroit. The Maumee post, Presqu'Ile, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and every English fort was hemmed in by mingled tribes, who felt that the great battle drew nigh which was to determine their fate and the possession of their noble lands.* At last the day came. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and the savages drank, "scooped up in the hollow of joined hands," the blood of many a Briton. The border streams of Pennsylvania and Virginia ran red again. "We hear," says a letter from Fort Pitt, "of scalping every hour." In Western Virginia, more than twenty thousand

* See Henry's *Narrative*. — Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 83.

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people were driven from their homes. Detroit was besieged by Pontiac himself, after a vain attempt to take it by stratagem; and for many months that siege was continued in a manner, and with a perseverance, unexampled among the Indians. Even a regular commissariat department was organized, and bills of credit issued. It was the 8th of May when Detroit was first attacked, and upon the 3d of the following December it was still in danger. As late as March of the next year, the inhabitants were "sleeping in their clothes, expecting an alarm every night."*

Fort Pitt was besieged also, and the garrison reduced to sad straits from want of food. This being known beyond the mountains, a quantity of provision was collected, and Colonel Bouquet was appointed to convey it to the head of the Ohio, having assigned him for the service the poor remains of two regiments, which had but lately returned from the war in Cuba. He set out toward the middle of July, and upon the 25th reached Bedford. From that post, he went forward by Forbes's road, passed Fort Ligonier, and upon the 5th of August was near Bushy Run, one of the branches of Turtle Creek, which falls into the Monongahela ten miles above Fort Pitt. Here he was attacked by the Indians, who, hearing of his approach, had gathered their forces to defeat him, and during two days the contest continued. On the 6th, the Indians, having the worst of the battle, retreated; and Bouquet, with his three hundred and forty horses, loaded with flour, reached and relieved the post at the Fork. †

It was now nearly autumn, and the confederated tribes had failed to take the three most important fortresses in the West, Detroit, Pitt, and Niagara. Many of them became disheartened; others wished to return home for the winter; others had satisfied their longing for revenge. United merely by the hope of striking and immediate success, they fell from one another when that success did not come; jealousies and old enmities came in; the league was broken; and Pontiac was left alone or with few followers.

In October, also, a step was taken by the British government, in part, for the purpose of quieting the fears and suspicions of the red men, which did much, probably, toward

* See Henry's *Narrative.* — Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 83.

† Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 121. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. Map, at p. 38.

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destroying their alliance. A proclamation was issued, forbidding the grant, by any governor, of Western lands, and the purchase or settlement of those lands by individuals.* To assist the effect of this proclamation, it was determined to make two movements in the spring and summer of 1764; General Bradstreet being ordered into the country upon Lake Erie, and Bouquet into that upon the Ohio. The former moved to Niagara early in the summer, and there held a grand council with twenty or more tribes, all of whom sued for peace; and, upon the 8th of August, the army reached Detroit.† Bouquet, meanwhile, collected troops at Fort Pitt, and in the autumn marched across from Big Beaver to the upper Muskingum, and thence to the point where the White Woman's river comes into the main stream. There, upon the 9th of November, he concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawanese, and received from them two hundred and six prisoners, eighty-one men and one hundred and twenty-five women and children. He also received, from the Shawanese, hostages for the delivery of some captives, who could not be brought to the Muskingum at that time. These hostages escaped, but the savages were of good faith, and, upon the 9th of May, 1765, the remaining whites were given up to George Croghan, the deputy of Sir William Johnson, at Fort Pitt. Many anecdotes are related in the account of the delivery of the captives to Bouquet, going to show that strong attachments had been formed between them and their captors; and West's pencil has illustrated the scene of their delivery. But we have little faith in the representations of either writer or painter.‡

Pontiac, the leading spirit in the past struggle, finding his attempts to save his country and his race at that time hopeless, left his tribe and went into the West, and for some years after was living among the Illinois, attempting, but in vain, to bring about a new union and new war. He was in the end killed by a Peoria Indian. So far as we can form a judg-

* *Land Laws*, p. 84. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 374.

† Henry's *Narrative*. Henry was with Bradstreet.

‡ "An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esquire, &c. Published from Authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country. London, 1766." This volume was first printed in Philadelphia. It was erroneously referred to by us (*North American Review*, Vol. XLVII., p. 14), as by Bouquet.

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ment of this chieftain, he was, in point of talent, nobleness of spirit, honor, and devotion, the superior of any red man of whom we have any account. His plan of extermination was most masterly; his execution of it equal to its conception. But for the treachery of one of his followers, he would have taken Detroit early in May. His whole force might then have been directed in one mass, first upon Niagara, and then upon Pitt, and in all probability both posts would have fallen.* Even disappointed as he was at Detroit, had the Six Nations, with their dependent allies, the Delawares and Shawanese, been true to him, the British might have been long kept beyond the mountains; but the Iroquois, — close upon the colonies, old allies of England, and under the influence of Sir William Johnson as they were, and disposed, as they ever proved themselves, to claim and sell, but not to defend the West, — were for peace after the King's proclamation. Indeed, the Mohawks and leading tribes were from the first with the British; so that, after the success of Bradstreet and Bouquet, there was no difficulty in concluding a treaty with all the Western Indians; and late in April, 1765, Sir William Johnson, at the German Flats, held a conference with the various nations, and settled a definite peace.† At this meeting two propositions were made; the one to fix some boundary line, west of which the Europeans should not go; and the savages named, as this line, the Ohio or Alleghany and Susquehannah; but no definite agreement was made, Johnson not being empowered to act. The other proposal was, that the Indians should grant to the traders, who had suffered in 1763, a tract of land in compensation for the injuries then done them, and to this the red men agreed.‡

With the returning deputies of the Shawanese and Delawares, George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's sub-commissioner, went to the West for the purpose of visiting the more distant tribes, and securing, so far as it could be done, the allegiance of the French who were scattered through the western valleys, and who were stirring up the savages to warfare, as it was believed. The Journal of his voyage may be found in the Appendix to Butler's "History of Kentucky" (2d edition), together with his estimate of the number of In-

* Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. Our knowledge of Pontiac and his war is very limited. We hope something more may come to light yet.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 60.

‡ *Ibid.* — Butler's *History of Kentucky*. 2d Ed. p. 479, *et seq.*

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dians in the West ; a very curious and valuable table, though, of course, vague and inaccurate.

So stood matters in the West during this year, 1765. All beyond the Alleghanies, with the exception of a few forts, was a wilderness until the Wabash was reached, where dwelt a few miserable French, with some fellow-vagabonds* not far from them upon the Illinois and Kaskaskia. The Indians, a few years since undisputed owners of the prairies and broad vales, now held them by sufferance, having been twice conquered by the arms of England. They, of course, felt both hatred and fear; and, while they despaired of saving their lands, and looked forward to unknown evils, the deepest and most abiding spirit of revenge was roused within them. They had seen the British coming to take their hunting-grounds upon the strength of a treaty which they knew not of. They had been forced to admit British troops into their country ; and, though now nominally protected from settlers, that promised protection would be but an incentive to passion, in case it was not in good faith extended to them.

And it was not in good faith extended to them by either individuals or governments. During the very year that succeeded the treaty of German Flats, settlers crossed the mountains and took possession of lands in western Virginia, and along the Monongahela. The Indians, having received no pay for these lands, murmured, and once more a border war was feared. General Gage, commander of the King's forces, was applied to, probably through Sir William Johnson, and issued his orders for the removal of the settlers ; but they defied his commands and his power, and remained where they were.† And not only were frontier men thus passing the line tacitly agreed on, but Sir William himself was even then meditating a step which would have produced, had it been taken, a general Indian war again. This was the purchase and settlement of an immense tract south of the Ohio River, where an independent colony was to be formed. How early this plan was conceived we do not learn, but, from Franklin's letters, we find that it was in contemplation in the spring of 1766.‡ At that time Franklin was in London, and was written to by his son, Governor Franklin of New Jersey, with regard to the proposed colony. The plan seems to have been, to buy

* Croghan's *Journal*, and those of all travellers of that time, so represent them.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 65. ‡ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 233, *et seq.*

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of the Six Nations the lands south of the Ohio, a purchase which it was not doubted Sir William might make, and then to procure from the King a grant of as much territory as the Company, which it was intended to form, would require. Governor Franklin, accordingly, forwarded to his father an application for a grant, together with a letter from Sir William, recommending the plan to the ministry; all of which was duly communicated to the proper department. But at that time there were various interests bearing upon this plan of Franklin. The old Ohio Company was still suing, through its agent, Colonel George Mercer, for a perfection of the original grant. The soldiers claiming under Dinwiddie's proclamation had their tale of rights and grievances. Individuals, to whom grants had been made by Virginia, wished them completed. General Lyman, from Connecticut we believe, was soliciting a new grant similar to that now asked by Franklin; and the ministers themselves were divided as to the policy and propriety of establishing any settlements so far in the interior, — Shelburne being in favor of the new colony, Hillsborough opposed to it.

The Company was organized, however, and the nominally leading man therein being Mr. Thomas Walpole, a London banker of eminence, it was known as the Walpole Company. Franklin continued privately to make friends among the ministry, and to press upon them the policy of making large settlements in the West; and, as the old way of managing the Indians by superintendents was just then in bad odor in consequence of the expense attending it, the cabinet council so far approved the new plan as to present it for examination to the Board of Trade, with members of which Franklin had also been privately conversing.

This was in the autumn of 1767. But, before any conclusion was come to, it was necessary to arrange definitely that boundary line, which had been vaguely talked of in 1765, and with respect to which Sir William Johnson had written to the ministry, who had mislaid his letters, and given him no instructions. The necessity of arranging this boundary was also kept in mind by the continued and growing irritation of the Indians, who found themselves invaded from every side. This irritation became so great during the autumn of 1767, that Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the subject. The Governor communicated his letter to the Assembly on the 5th of January, 1768, and representations were at once sent to

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England, expressing the necessity of having the Indian line fixed. Franklin, the father, all this time, was urging the same necessity upon the ministers in England; and about Christmas of 1767, Sir William's letters on the subject having been found, orders were sent him to complete the proposed purchase from the Six Nations, and settle all differences. But the project for a colony was for the time dropped, a new administration coming in which was not that way disposed.

Sir William Johnson having received, early in the spring, the orders from England relative to a new treaty with the Indians, at once took steps to secure a full attendance.* Notice was given to the various colonial governments, to the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanese, and a Congress was appointed to meet at Fort Stanwix during the following October. It met upon the 24th of that month, and was attended by representatives from New Jersey, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; by Sir William and his deputies; by the agents of those traders who had suffered in the war of 1763; and by deputies from all of the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanese. The first point to be settled was the boundary line which was to determine the Indian lands of the West from that time forward; and this line the Indians, upon the 1st of November, stated should begin on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Cherokee (or Tennessee) river; thence go up the Ohio and Alleghany to Kittaning; thence across to the Susquehannah, &c.; whereby the whole country south of the Ohio and Alleghany, *to which the Six Nations had any claim*, was transferred to the British. One deed, for a part of this land, was made on the 3d of November to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders, whose goods had been destroyed by the Indians in 1763. The tract conveyed by this was between the Kenhawa and Monongahela, and was by the traders named Indiana. Two days afterward, a deed for the remaining western lands was made to the King, and the price agreed on paid down.† These deeds were made upon the express agreement, that no claim should ever be based upon previous treaties, those of Lancaster, Logstown, &c.; and they were signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, for

* For an account of this long-lost treaty see *Plain Facts*, pp. 65 — 104, or Butler's *Kentucky*. 2d Edition. pp. 472 — 488.

† There were also given two deeds, of lands in the interior of Pennsylvania, one to Croghan, and the other to the proprietaries of that colony.

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themselves, their allies and dependents, the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and others; but the Shawanese and Delaware deputies present did not sign them.

Such was the treaty of Stanwix, whereon rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, western Virginia, and Pennsylvania. It was a better foundation, perhaps, than that given by previous treaties, but was essentially worthless; for the lands conveyed were not occupied or hunted on by those conveying them. In truth, we cannot doubt that this immense grant was obtained by the influence of Sir William Johnson, in order that the new colony, of which he was to be governor, might be founded there. The fact, that such an extent of country was ceded voluntarily, — not after a war, not by hard persuasion, but at once and willingly, — satisfies us that the whole affair had been previously settled with the New York savages, and that the Ohio Indians had no voice in the matter.

But the grant was made. The white man could now quiet his conscience when driving the native from his forest home, and feel sure that an army would back his pretensions. A new company was at once organized in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," and a petition sent to the King for two millions and a half of acres in the West. Among the signers of this were Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and Arthur Lee. The gentleman last named was the agent for the petitioners in England. This application was referred to the Board of Trade on the 9th of March, 1769, and after that we hear nothing of it.*

Meantime more than one bold man had ventured for a little while into the beautiful valleys of Kentucky, and, on the 1st of May, 1769, there was one going forth from his "peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river in North Carolina," whose name has since gone far and wide over this little planet of ours, he having become the type of his class. This was Daniel Boone. He crossed the mountains, and spent that summer and the next winter in the West.† But, while he was rejoicing in the abundance of buffalo, deer, and turkeys among the cane-brakes, longer heads were meditating still that new colony, the plan of which had been lying in silence

* *Plain Facts*, p. 69. — Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 475.

† Boone's *Narrative*, which may be found in Carey's *Museum*, Vol. II. p. 324.

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for two years and more. The Board of Trade was again called on to report upon the application, and Lord Hillsborough, the President, reported against it. This called out Franklin's celebrated "Ohio Settlement," a paper written with so much ability, that the King's Council put by the official report, and granted the petition, a step which mortified the noble lord so much that he resigned his official station.* The petition now needed only the royal sanction, which was not given until August 14th, 1772; but in 1770, the Ohio Company was merged in Walpole's, and, the claims of the soldiers of 1756 being acknowledged both by the new Company and by government, all claims were quieted. Nothing was ever done, however, under the grant to Walpole, the Revolution soon coming upon America.† After the Revolution, Mr. Walpole and his associates petitioned Congress respecting their lands, called by them "Vandalia," but could get no help from that body. What was finally done by Virginia with the claims of this and other companies, we do not find written, but presume their lands were all looked on as forfeited.

During the years in which Franklin, Pownall, and their friends, were trying to get the great western land company into operation, actual settlers were crossing the mountains all too rapidly; for the Ohio Indians "viewed the settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and did "not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right, if people settled thereon notwithstanding the cession by the Six Nations."‡ It has been said, also, that Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, authorized surveys and settlements on the western lands, notwithstanding the proclamation of 1763; but Mr. Sparks gives us a letter from him, in which this is expressly denied.§ However, surveyors did go down even to the Falls of the Ohio, and the whole region south of the Ohio was filling with white men. The futility of the Fort Stanwix treaty, and the ignorance or contempt of it by the fierce Shawanese, are well seen in the meeting between them and Bullitt, one of the early emigrants, in 1773.‖ Bullitt, on his way down

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 302.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 483, *et seq.* — *Plain Facts*, p. 149.

‡ Washington's "Journal to the West, in 1770." Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 531.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

‖ Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 20.

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the Ohio, stopped, and singly sought the savages at one of their towns. He then told them of his proposed settlement, and his wish to live at peace with them; and said, that, as they had received nothing under the treaty of 1768, it was intended to make them presents the next year. The Indians considered the talk of the Long Knife, and the next day agreed to his proposed settlement, provided he did not *disturb them in their hunting south of the Ohio;* a provision wholly inconsistent with the Stanwix deed.

Among the foremost speculators in western lands at that time was George Washington. He had always regarded the proclamation of 1763 as a mere temporary expedient to quiet the savages, and, being better acquainted with the value of western lands than most of those who could command means, he early began to buy beyond the mountains. His agent in selecting lands was Crawford, afterwards burnt by the Ohio Indians. In September, 1767, we find Washington writing to Crawford on this subject, and looking forward to the occupation of the western territory; and in 1773, being entitled, under the King's proclamation of 1763, (which gave a bounty to officers and soldiers who had served in the old French war,) to ten thousand acres of land, he became deeply interested in the country beyond the mountains, and had some correspondence respecting the importation of settlers from Europe. Indeed, had not the Revolutionary war been just then on the eve of breaking out, Washington would in all probability have become the leading settler of the West, and all our history been changed.*

But though that Revolution retained him east of the mountains, it did not come quick enough to prevent such preparations for strong settlements in the West, while yet nominally British, as secured a population there when America cast off her allegiance. And here again we see the adaptation that exists in human affairs; for, had there been no western settlements when the war began in earnest, the power of Britain operating from Canada, in connexion with the whole body of Indians, must have changed, and might have materially changed, the event of that strife. No human being knows how far the struggles of Boone, Logan, and their companions, together with the genius of Clark, affected the issue of the

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 346 — 387.

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Revolution ; but it is clear, that their influence on it was not slight.

And these frontier men, during the years from 1769 to 1774, were quietly passing into the rich valleys of Kentucky, and scouring her woods for game. The Indians saw "the pen," in which, as Teedyuscung said, they were crowded, growing more and more narrow. Their hunting-grounds were the hunting-grounds of the whites, and even their homes were scarce sacred from the European's claims. Settlers were swarming upon the Wabash.* Nor was this all ; for, as the emigrants became stronger, they became bolder, and the red men were insulted by them. And so wrong followed wrong. The savages stole the horses of the settlers, and the settlers took vengeance as they could. A white family was murdered, and their fellow-whites fell upon the nearest native town, and destroyed it, careless if its indwellers were guilty or innocent. These things were known, and the savages became jealous and angry. Parties collected, and war was threatened. The whites kept even pace with their foes in hatred, and far outdid them in treachery. The well-known murders on the Ohio, near Yellow and Captina creeks, took place. Logan's family was destroyed, and this old friend of the whites was made their deadly foe. Next fell the traders who were among the Indians, and the revenge wreaked upon them spoke of long-smothered and now desperate passion. One, who was killed near the town of White Eyes, the peace-chief of the Muskingum Delawares, was cut in pieces, and his remains hung upon the bushes. The Delaware went out, collected, and buried them ; but the next day they were disinterred, and scattered far and wide. White Eyes, however, again collected them, and in a secret place gave them burial.

War was now fully declared ; and the Senecas, led on by Logan, with the Shawanese, headed by Comstock, poured down upon the settlements of western Virginia, with all the ferocity of wild men whose passions were fully up, and who felt their cause to be a just one. For a few months the contest was most bloody. But the Virginians were now comparatively at home in the West ; and troops were soon mustered and led to the Kenhawa. At the mouth of this river, in October, 1774, was fought the well-known battle of Point Pleas-

* See Gage's Proclamation, April 8th, 1772, in *Land Laws*, Appendix.

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ant, described by every writer on Western history, and even given at some length by Mr. Stone in his "Life of Brant"; in consideration of which we omit all details of it, and also of the march by Lord Dunmore and General Lewis, through Ohio, upon the Scioto towns. There was held the treaty, at which Logan's famous speech was made; and there Comstock, one of the most fearless and masterly red men of whom we have any record, submitted to the power of the whites.

This war of 1774, known sometimes as Logan's war, sometimes as Dunmore's, was the last conflict of the British with the Western Indians; for, even while Dunmore was marching into the western country, he was doubting the stability of the British power in America, and probably hastened on a peace with the savages because he saw the necessity of a quick return to the seacoast. The peace made by him, however, did not prevent the Shawanese of the Miami valley from waging war upon the Kentucky settlers. In truth, from the spring of 1774 to the peace of Wayne in August, 1795, there was not any cessation in the warfare between the whites and the Indians. Lord Dunmore, it is true, states his treaty with the Shawanese to have contained an agreement on their part not to hunt south of the Ohio; but, unluckily, this was made in the valley of the Scioto and not that of the Miami, where dwelt no small part of the nation.* We have not followed, and do not care to follow, the first wanderers in Kentucky through their perils and adventures, though there is much of interest in them. The first house built by the white man in that region was not erected until two months after the battle of Lexington;† and, as we do not propose to carry this sketch beyond the opening of the Revolution, the settlement of the lands south of the Ohio does not now come within our reach. But, some time before Dunmore's war, there had been a settlement made north of the Ohio, which we cannot omit to speak of, though so isolated was it in its purposes and character, that we have thus far said nothing of it.

Our readers will remember the bold and calm Moravian, Christian Frederick Post, who journeyed to the Big Beaver

* See as to Dunmore's war, Doddridge, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, Butler's *Kentucky*, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Virginia *Gazette*, 1775, referred to by Butler.

† Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 28.

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Creek in 1758, and won the Delawares to peace. This same man, in 1761, thinking the true faith might be planted among those western tribes, journeyed out to the Muskingum, and, upon the banks of that stream, about a mile from Beaver's Town, built himself a house.* The next season, that is, in the spring of 1762, he again crossed the mountains in company with the well-known Heckewelder, who went out as his assistant. The Indians having consented to his living among them, and teaching their children to read and write, Post prepared to clear a few acres whereon to raise corn. The chiefs hearing of this called him to them, and said they feared he had changed his mind, for, instead of teaching their children, he was clearing land; which if he did, others might do, and then a fort be built to protect them, and then the land claimed, and they be driven off, as had always, they said, been the case. Post replied, that a teacher must live, and, as he did not wish to be a burden on them, he proposed to raise his own food. This reply the Indians considered, and told him, that, as he claimed to be a minister of God, just as the French priests did, and as these latter looked fat and comely though they did not raise corn, it was probable that the Great Spirit would take care of him as he did of them, if he wished him to be his minister; so they could only give him a garden spot. This Captain Pipe stepped off for him, and with this he had to shift as well as he could.

These proceedings were in 1762, and while they show the perfect perception which the Indians had of their dangers, and of the English tactics, explain most clearly the causes of the next year's war.

Post continued to till his little garden spot and teach his Indian disciples through the summer of 1762, and in the autumn accompanied King Beaver to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where a fruitless treaty was concluded with the whites. Returning from this treaty in October, he met Heckewelder, who had been warned by his red friends to leave the country before war came, and was forced back upon the settlements.

From this time until the autumn of 1767, no Moravians visited the West. Then, and in the following spring, Zeisberger went to the Alleghany, and there established a mission, against the will, however, of the greater part of the savages,

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 59.

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who saw nothing but evil in the white man's eye.* The fruits would not ripen, the deer would not stay, they said, where the white man came. But Zeisberger's was a fearless soul, and he worked on, despite threats and plots against his life; and not only held his place, but even converted some of the leading Indians. Among these was one who had come from the Big Beaver, for the purpose of refuting the Moravians; and, this man being influential, the missionaries were in 1770 invited to come to the Big Beaver, whither they went in April of that year, settling about twenty miles from its mouth. Nor did the kindness of the Indians stop here. The Delawares of the Muskingum, remembering perhaps what Post had done among them ten years before, invited the Christian Indians of Pennsylvania to come and live on their river; and, in this invitation the Wyandots joined. The proposition was long considered, and at last agreed to; and, on the 3d of May, 1772, Zeisberger, with twenty-seven of his native disciples, founded Shoenbrun, upon the Muskingum, — the first true Christian settlement made within the present State of Ohio, and the beginning of that which was destroyed by the frontier men ten years afterward, in so cruel and cowardly a manner. To this settlement, in the course of the next year, the Christian Indians of the Susquehannah, and those of the Big Beaver, removed. Though endangered by the war of 1774, it was not injured, and, when our Revolution began, was the only point beyond Pittsburg where the English were dwelling and laboring.

And here we must close this meagre and dim outline of the history of the Ohio valley. We have attempted little else than a sketch of those events which were connected with that valley, because of Louisiana and Canada we have histories and annals, but of the course of things in the Ohio country, no continuous record whatever. Let us now, for a moment, look back and glance at the events already spoken of.

From 1670 to 1750, the French were silently founding their towns in the West, unsuspected and unopposed by the natives. A few English traders were straying into the country, and the Indian tribes heard of proposals to settle their lands, on the part of the British; while the Iroquois, claim-

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 98.

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ing the whole Ohio valley, but occupying only a very small part of it, had, previous to the year 1750, been by degrees becoming familiarized to the idea of selling those claimed lands to the white men, to whom, by the treaty of 1744, they did actually sell some of them. About 1750, the Indians found their homes about to be invaded by both English and French. Hoping to prevent the evils apprehended, they first (1752) called on the English to keep out the French, and then were persuaded to join the French (1755). The war followed (1756). The French were driven out (1758); and the English built forts in the Indian country to defend them from the return of their late allies (1760). By 1762, settlers began to annoy and alarm the natives, who feared the English wanted rather to have their lands, than to defend them; and they made a gigantic effort to free themselves from their oppressors (1763). They were conquered (1764), and more English were put among them, though their lands were guarantied to them (1765). In a few years those lands were once more invaded, and another war threatened (1766, 1767). Then the hunting-grounds of the Shawanese, Delawares, and Miamis were bought of the Iroquois (1768), and whites began to flock into them, against the protests of the occupants (1770, &c.). These whites injured the savages (1773). Once again war came (1774), and once again the savages were conquered (1774). There we leave the parties; the Indians overcome, but full of hate, and jealousy, and a determination to defend their rights; the Europeans claiming that beautiful country under fraudulent and void deeds, and holding it by the right of might.

Against the French the English had no claim, save as defenders of the Indians under the old deed of the Six Nations. Against the Indians they had no claim at all. The simple truth with respect to the British possessions in the West, in 1775, was this; that Britain had conquered France, and had conquered the Indians, and had, to what territory she occupied, the right of conquest, and no other.

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ART. IV. — *Manuel du Graveur, ou Traité Complet de l'Art de la Gravure en tous Genres, d'après les Renseignemens fournis par plusieurs Artistes, et rédigé* par A. M. PERROT, Membre de l'Athénée des Arts, de la Société Philotechnique, de celle de Géographie, de la Société d'Agronomie Pratique, etc. Paris. 1830. 12mo. pp. 255.

IT is nearly four centuries since the art of Engraving was discovered, and a steady improvement may be discerned from that time up to the present day. The nineteenth century is rich in the productions of this beautiful branch of the fine arts. From every civilized land volumes are annually poured forth, illustrated and adorned in a manner which does indeed make antiquity appear rude. Men of genius are devoting themselves to the practice of the art, and do not disdain to perpetuate and spread over the world, by the burine, the inspired design which their pencil has traced. The noble works of the great masters are now no longer the exclusive property of a single spot, or a few individuals. They are given to the world, literally published for the benefit of society, and sent abroad into every land, to delight the taste and to inspire the genius of all nations.

The art of engraving is not, indeed, to be ranked on a level with that of painting. The conception of a piece, the sentiment, moral, or event to be represented, the grouping of the figures, the imagination of forms and countenances, all that belongs to creative power, is displayed in the original design. But still there is left a work for the engraver, demanding a high order of talent. How laborious, delicate, and minute is his labor; how fine, how almost imperceptible, are the millions of strokes, to which the finest hair seems coarse; how infinite the gradation from the deep and dark shadows to the delicate touch, on which the ink is to be laid so sparingly that the black shall literally appear white! And yet how bold and decided must his touch be; life, and even a glow of fire, all the varied expressions of the "human face divine," all the spirit that can light up the most gorgeous painting, must be transmitted through the graver. And more than this. The engraver is often called upon to improve upon his copy; to give, perhaps, to the rude, hard

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outline of ancient and imperfect drawing the roundness, grace, and fire of life ; to supply strength and boldness, to give dignity and sentiment, to inspire the quaintness of ancient art with the grace of a better period, and at the same time to preserve the Gothic and sublime simplicity of the original. In addition to this, in most of the copies which engravers are called upon to make, they are obliged to diminish very greatly the size of the piece. And, in doing this, they must not only give a much greater degree of delicacy to the work, and devote much more time to minute detail, but they must carefully preserve the original proportions of the piece.

Finally, the engraver must, merely by the management of his lines, convey, in some degree at least, the idea of color. For engraving seems, in this respect, to be the point of meeting between painting and sculpture. It does not exclude the idea of color, like statuary, which consults form alone. It does not, like painting, give the detail of color. Yet it must convey the notion of different hues, because otherwise no small portion of its purposes would be unfulfilled. The variety of subjects is much greater for engraving than for sculpture. It is intended to represent familiar and domestic scenes. It is not confined to austere and dignified representations. It enters into every sphere of life, every occupation, from the splendid dramas of the palace and the gorgeous array of the church, to the interior of the hovel, the ale-house, and the stable. To exclude the idea of color from such representations would destroy the effect. Yet this can be conveyed in engravings only by implication or suggestion ; by so managing the width and direction of the lines, that we suppose one color to be represented in one place, another in another place, and so on. This power of the art is remarkably displayed in engravings of landscapes, in which the various hues of nature may be readily suggested to the imagination. All the varieties of foliage, even blossoms and flowers, the clear stream or lake reflecting the heavens, the gleam of the parting sun upon the waters, even the gorgeous drapery of the sunset sky, may be pictured by this charming art.

In speaking of the power of engraving, we must not omit to notice its beautiful adaptation to imitate that most difficult branch of painting, the representation of flesh-color. Here engraving seems to achieve its highest triumph. Every

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variety of the appearance of flesh, the beautiful smoothness and delicacy of youth, the rough and wrinkled look of age, the hard and weather-worn visage of the seaman, the bright glow of childhood, and the softness of infancy, may be all conveyed by the engraver with scarcely less distinctness than in the finished painting.

Another very important and difficult office of the art is to convey, in the copies from paintings, a correct idea of the style of each great master; for the capacities of the art undoubtedly are sufficient for this purpose. In effecting this important object, it is obvious, that the engraver must be more than a mere copyist. It is not enough to imitate the outline and the shading, to preserve on a smaller scale the just proportions of the original, to convey a notion of the coloring, to give the same expression to countenances, and the same finish to all the detail. A higher order of talent is required in the engraver. He must be able to comprehend and appreciate the genius of the master, whose work is before him. He must understand the feelings which inspired him at the moment when he was pouring out his soul upon the canvass. He must know the enthusiasm that stirred him up, the profound sentiment that filled his heart, the devotion, piety, and ardor, with which he applied himself to the work. He must catch a spark of that heavenly flame, which burned in the soul of the great artist, and kindled into life the portraiture upon his canvass. In this way alone can he give to his work that nameless and ethereal charm, which, more than any thing else, distinguishes the works of genius.

These are some of the leading characteristics of the art of engraving; an art, which we consider perfect in its kind, that is, accomplishing all the objects which it professes to undertake, as completely as any of the fine arts. The editor of Horace Walpole's "Catalogue of Engravers" remarks, that "want of coloring is the capital deficience of prints." But we think he is entirely mistaken in this respect. Engravings, as we have endeavoured to show, do possess the property of coloring by suggestion, and this is one of the distinguishing beauties of the art. To color a fine engraving, which is fully finished with all the depth and variety of shading, seems to us little less barbarous than to paint a fine statue.

Though wood engraving is very different from copperplate, it seems worth while to notice it in treating of this sub-

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ject, as it has recently become an object of considerable attention, and has undergone great improvement. Wood engraving is much like printing, the figures being raised from the surface like those on printers' types. In this respect, it is exactly opposite to engraving on copper or steel, and it was in use a considerable time before the process of taking impressions from copper plates was discovered. It has been asserted, that a series of drawings, representing the exploits of Alexander, were designed and executed in wood by Alessandro Cunio and his twin sister, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. But this has been disputed. It is certain, however, that the art was practised a few years later, as there is a print from a wood-cut in the possession of Earl Spencer, representing St. Christopher, and bearing the date of 1423.

The discovery of the art of engraving on metal, for the purpose of making impressions on paper, is generally ascribed to Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence. He excelled in an art, then much practised in Florence, called *niello*. It was the custom with jewellers, in those times, to engrave the outlines of Scripture subjects upon the vessels which they made for the use of the church. When this engraving was completed, they filled the lines with a black substance composed of a mixture of lead and silver, in solution with borax and sulphur; and impressions were taken from this in clay or sulphur. The black substance used was called *niello*; and hence the name of the art. The same process was also used when pieces of armour, household plate, and other articles were engraved for the purpose of being inlaid with metals, wood, or ivory. Painters were employed to make designs for this kind of engraving, and impressions were taken in clay or sulphur, both for the convenience of the artist as he proceeded in his work, and for distribution among his friends. It occurred to Finiguerra, that the impression might be made on paper instead of clay; and he proceeded to make the experiment, wetting the paper and applying it gently with a roller. Impressions are still preserved in some of the museums of Italy, taken upon paper, and easily recognised by the inscriptions being reversed; and the Abbé Zani discovered at the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, in 1803, a print entitled "The first impression from an engraving by Maso

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Finiguerra in 1452." Some Italian writers, with considerable show of reason, place the epoch of Finiguerra's invention as early as 1440, or a short time before.

German writers claim the honor of the invention for a citizen of Antwerp, Martin Schoengaur, asserting that he practised the art before Finiguerra. It seems probable, that it appeared nearly simultaneously in both countries. The earliest distinguished engravers after the discovery of the art, however, were Italians.

It does not appear, that Finiguerra pursued his invention any further than to take impressions on paper instead of clay. A contemporary, of the same profession and city, Baccio Baldini, improved upon the invention by engraving on plates for the express purpose of taking impressions. He was greatly assisted by a distinguished painter, Antonio Pollajuolo, who furnished him with designs for his engravings, and also by another artist, Sandro Botticelli, who made a set of drawings, from which Baldini engraved plates for an edition of Dante, published in 1488, and supposed to be the first book ever embellished with copperplate engravings; though this notion has been proved false by a German writer.

The works of Baldini attracted the attention of a Roman engraver, Andrea Mantegna, who had already become distinguished as one of the most successful of the *niellatori*. This artist not only assisted Baldini with original designs, but also turned his own efforts to the promotion of the newly-discovered art, in which he soon became a proficient. Roscoe says of him, that his prints display considerable power of invention and expression of character, even bordering upon grace and elegance. The drawing is generally correct, and sometimes exhibits great freedom and spirit. His engravings are distinguished by the shadows being formed by diagonal lines, not crossed as in more recent prints.

In our notice of the early days of the art, we must not omit mentioning Albert Durer, one of the earliest Dutch engravers. Some knowledge of the art seems to have been previously possessed in Holland by Martin Schoengauer, who is thought by some German writers, as we have seen, to have invented it, and who was certainly a contemporary of Finiguerra. The works of Martin, and his disciple Wolgemuth, inspired the genius of Albert Durer, who did much for the improvement of the art, excelling equally on copper and on

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wood. Among his most famous works are portraits of the Emperor Maximilian; of Albert, Elector of Mentz; of Philip Melancthon; a full length of Erasmus, who is represented standing at a desk, writing; a head of Ulric Vambuler, of the size of life; and a portrait of himself. He also executed a series of engravings on wood, thirty-six in number, representing scenes from the life of our Saviour.

We have mentioned these prints, because they exercised an important influence on the career of a young Italian, who was now successfully cultivating the same art, and who was destined to carry it to a much higher degree of excellence. Marc-Antonio Raimondi was born at Bologna, and studied the art of painting with Francesco Francia. He was early distinguished for his works in *niello*, but seems to have made no attempts at regular engraving until his attention was directed to it by accident. Having taken a journey to Venice, he saw for sale the set of prints, by Albert Durer, representing the life of our Saviour. These prints were held in high estimation, and sold at a very great price; but the young artist was so much tempted by them, that he could not refrain from the purchase, though it completely exhausted his funds. In order to repair his fortunes, he immediately began to make copies of Durer's pieces, which he executed with so much success in copper, that he was able to sell them in Venice, as originals by Durer. The latter, as Vasari tells the story, in his "Lives of Painters," on hearing of the fraud, immediately repaired to Venice, and complained to the Senate of the injury; but obtained no other satisfaction, than a decree forbidding Marc-Antonio from affixing to his prints the name or emblem of Durer.

From Venice, Marc-Antonio went to Rome, where he had the good fortune to become acquainted with Raphael, who was then residing there. Having made an engraving from Raphael's Lucretia, he caused it to be shown to the artist, who immediately perceived the great advantage which he should enjoy by means of this invention, in having his works spread over the world; and from this time Antonio found his chief occupation in copying the works of this great master, receiving from him many useful hints and directions, so that the art was greatly improved by his labors. His reputation was soon established throughout Italy, and his school was resorted to by numerous disciples; among whom were Marco da Ravenna, Agostino Veneziano, and Giulio Bonasone, who

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were almost as accomplished and successful as their teacher, and did much to improve the taste of Europe.

The art was thus firmly established in Italy and in Holland. The first kind which was practised was the *line engraving*, as would naturally be supposed, when we remember the origin of the invention. And it is worthy of note, that, although many other ways have been adopted for cutting the copper, the earliest method is still used for the most costly and elaborate works. A short account of the different modes of engraving may not be uninteresting to our readers.

The principal instruments, used for line engraving, are the *graver*, the *scraper*, the *burnisher*, and the *steel point*. The *graver* is a piece of hardened steel, four or five inches long, having four sides, and varying from three sixteenths to one sixteenth of an inch in thickness, the sides forming a right or acute angle according as the lines are to be cut bold or delicate, and is cut off obliquely at the end to give a sharp point at one of the corners. The handle is of wood, or cork, shaped somewhat like the handle of a common screw-driver, but much shorter. The *scraper* is a long, triangular piece of steel, regularly diminishing from the handle to the point. The three edges are kept sharp by rubbing them on an oil-stone, and are used for removing the *burr*, or roughness occasioned by cutting the plate with the graver, and also for erasing erroneous lines. The third instrument is the *burnisher*, which is a hard, round, and highly polished piece of steel, used for rubbing out any little dots or scratches which occur in the copper. The *steel point*, set in a wooden handle, is also used for etching, and for some of the delicate work, technically called *dry-pointing*, which the graver could not so well be made to perform.

The present usual process for line engraving is as follows. The plate, being properly prepared, the work is commenced by what is called *etching*, which is thus performed. The plate is covered with a thin ground or varnish, composed of asphaltum, gum mastic, and virgin wax. If an outline in pencil is to be transferred to the plate, the pencil outline is laid carefully upon a clean paper, and thoroughly sponged with water upon the back, and then placed between damp sheets of paper for a few moments. The outline is then again sponged in a similar manner; and this is repeated until the paper becomes completely saturated with water. It is then laid upon the plate

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on which the ground is, and rolled through a plate press; and an inverted pencil outline is thus produced upon the plate. If the drawing is traced, it is done either with a pencil upon transparent paper, and then transferred as above, or upon tracing-paper with the point; which tracing-paper, after tracing, is rubbed with red chalk, then laid upon the plate, and the tracing lightly gone over with the point; thus producing upon the plate an inverted outline in red chalk. Different kinds of tracing-paper are used for these different processes. The outlines, and such parts as require freedom and irregularity of line, and the main lines of the dark drapery, &c., are then marked through the ground, care being taken that every line shall penetrate to the copper. The edges of the plate are then surmounted by a high border of wax, closely fitted, and a dilution of the best spirits of *aqua fortis* and water is poured over the whole. The acid of course reaches the metal wherever lines have been drawn through the wax, and the bubbles of air produced by the chemical action, together with the saturated portions of the metal, are brushed away with a feather. For biting steel several other kinds of acid are used; for very soft steel, powdered corrosive sublimate and alum, dissolved in water; for hard steel, nitric acid diluted, the plate, before the acid is applied, being washed with a decoction of nut-gall. When the action of the acid has been continued long enough, the liquid is poured off, and the operator examines his work carefully. If he finds that the desired effect has been produced in the lines drawn, he fills them up, or, in the technical language, they are *stopped out*. The *biting*, or action of the acid, is then continued for the deeper shades, which are afterwards stopped out, and so on. When the work is completed, the varnish is cleaned off, the plate washed with oil of turpentine, and any deficiencies are remedied with the graver. The plate is then finished with the graver and the dry-point, and by *rebiting*, which last is done by laying a ground upon the surface of the plate, so as that it shall not penetrate the lines, and then biting as before, or washing on the acid where any part is wished darker. From this description, it may be seen how much of the beauty of the work depends upon the skill of the artist in using the graver. Indeed, this instrument seems to possess scarcely less power than the pencil or the chisel. Within its compass are contained

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all that art can convey of delicacy, grace, beauty, and power.

This practice of etching must have been very early adopted, as it is extremely probable that acid was used by the manufacturers of swords and other warlike implements, in decorating blades and other weapons, before the invention of engraving on copper; and its adaptation to this purpose would have been readily perceived. The merit of inventing etching was claimed by an Italian artist, Parmegiano; but it is ascertained, that it was earlier practised by Albert Durer, from some prints by that artist, bearing the dates of 1518 and 1524.

For letter, map, and plan engraving, the process is as follows. The plate, being carefully prepared to receive the cutting, is warmed sufficiently to melt white wax, with a thin coating of which it is then covered. The outline of the drawing is then traced upon paper with a black-lead pencil, and laid, the pencilled side downward, upon the wax, and the back gently rubbed with the burnisher; by which process the drawing is transferred to the wax. The engraver is thus guided in making the outline of the design on the copper, which he does by means of the point above mentioned, penetrating through the wax, and marking distinctly on the plate, or by cutting directly through the wax with the graver. The wax is then wiped off, and the plate finished with the graver and point. The plate must be laid upon a strong, steady table, and a sort of awning or shade of silk paper stretched on a frame be placed near the window, in such a manner as to prevent a glare of light from falling upon the copper. Whenever an erroneous line is made by the slipping of the graver, or other cause, it must be effaced by the burnisher, and the indentings which this leaves must then be levelled with the scraper, rubbed with charcoal and water, and lightly polished with the burnisher.

The second kind of engraving, which is done by making dots in the copper instead of lines, is called *stippling*. The principal advantage of this style is, that delicate parts of the engraving may be done with less labor and in a shorter time. It will readily be seen, that, the greater the number of the dots, and the closer they are together, without being so near as to form a continuous line in any direction, the more will the work resemble a crayon drawing. On account of this

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resemblance, stippling is, in England, commonly called chalk engraving. It is often found united in the same piece with line engraving, being employed for the more delicate parts, while the drapery, and all the bolder portions of the work, are represented in lines. An instrument has been invented by which this kind of engraving may be more expeditiously accomplished. This is called a *roulette*. It is a toothed wheel attached to a handle ; and, being rolled over the copper, it makes a row of dots. The effect of this, however, is much inferior to the dotting made by the graver. *Stippling* is a very ancient invention, and is attributed to the Italians. It is known to have been used by Augustine of Venice, who, as we have already mentioned, was a pupil of Marc-Antonio ; and there is still preserved a print executed by this artist, representing an old man seated on a bank, with a cottage in the background. The flesh only, however, is done in dots. There is also another print of a single figure standing, holding a cup and looking upwards, by Giulio Campagnola, who engraved in the early part of the sixteenth century. The background is executed in round dots, apparently made with the needle or dry point, and the figure is outlined with a deep stroke and finished with dots, the hair and beard being executed in lines.

The third style of engraving is the *mezzotinto*. The plate, being prepared, the process is commenced nearly in the same manner as for line engraving, the outline and bolder parts being etched. The plate is laid on a firm table, which has a flannel cloth upon it to prevent the copper from slipping. An instrument called a *grounding-tool*, provided with teeth, is then applied to the plate, and rocked backwards and forwards in every direction over its surface, so as to cover it with fine indentations, care being taken not to allow the tool to cut twice in the same place. When this operation is finished, the plate is found to be so engraved that an impression from it would present a uniformly black surface. The engraver now resorts to the scraper and burnisher, and presses down or rubs out the roughness of the copper, over that part of the surface where the figures are to appear, obliterating the ground for the lights and leaving it for the shades. Great care must be taken in this part of the operation, to make the gradations from shade to light extremely deli-

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cate, as, otherwise, the effect of the piece would be much injured. While speaking of mezzotinto engraving, it seems worth while to correct a prevalent error. It is generally supposed, that an acid is employed to corrode the copper for this branch of art; but this is not the case. Engraving, when acid is to be used, is called *etching*, a process which we have already described.

This mistake with regard to the use of acid in mezzotinto, may not improbably have grown out of the commonly received account of the invention of this style of engraving. The merit of first using it is attributed to Prince Rupert. Horace Walpole, in his "Catalogue of Engravers," digested from the manuscript of Vertue, says, that, as Prince Rupert was going out one morning from his residence at Brussels, he observed a sentinel very busy with his fusil. On inquiring what he was doing, the man showed him, that the night dew had made some spots of rust on the piece, which he was trying to scrape and polish away. On examining it, the prince perceived something like a figure eaten into the barrel, with innumerable little holes close together like the chased work on gold and silver, part of which the man had already scraped away. It immediately occurred to him, that, by covering a plate with such little holes, so that it would give a black impression, and then scraping away part of them, the smooth portions of the plate would leave the paper white. He communicated this idea to Vaillant, a painter whom he maintained; and after many experiments they contrived a steel roller with teeth, which could cut the plate in every direction; and it was then easy to scrape away the roughness where the light was to fall.

This account, however, seems to be incorrect; for the Baron Heineken, in his "Idée Générale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes," speaks of a print engraved in mezzotinto by Colonel de Siegen, an officer in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse. It is a portrait of Amelia Elizabeth, Princess Regent of Hesse-Cassel, which is inscribed in one corner, "L. de Siegen, inventor, fecit, 1643." Now it does not appear that Prince Rupert pretended to have made this discovery till nearly twenty years after the date of Siegen's print; for Evelyn mentions, in his Diary, under March 13th, 1661, that Prince Rupert had just shown him the

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new way of graving called *mezzotinto*. Heineken thinks that Rupert must have learned the art from Colonel de Siegen.

Another mode of engraving, accomplished by the help of an acid, is called *aqua-tinta*. The outlines of the picture are etched in the copper by the usual process. The ground is then removed, the plate carefully cleaned, and the *aqua-tinta grain*, as it is called, is applied. In the old method, this consisted of finely-powdered mastic, sifted carefully and equally over the plate, and then made to adhere by gently warming it. It will readily be seen, that, were the acid now applied, it would so act upon the copper between the innumerable fine grains, that an impression taken from the plate would be perfectly black. When the grains of mastic, therefore, have been made to adhere, the artist takes a hair pencil dipped in black varnish, and paints over the grain in those parts of the picture which are to be left entirely white. The acid is then applied, and after it has been suffered to act long enough it is poured off, and the next lightest shade stopped out; again, the acid is applied for the deeper shades, and so on till the picture is complete. There are several modifications of the process of aqua-tinta engraving, which we omit describing, as it would be difficult to make them intelligible to our readers. One, however, invented we believe by Mr. F. Tukes, of London, and now generally adopted, ought not to be passed by. It is far preferable to the method formerly in use, wearing longer, and giving a grain of much more elegant appearance. The resinous substance to be employed, which is mastic, resin, burgundy pitch, or a mixture of two or more of these ingredients, is dissolved in highly rectified alcohol; and, the plate having been carefully cleaned, the solution is quickly poured over its surface, in such a manner, that the chilling of the varnish, which immediately takes place, may be perfectly equal over the whole. If this is well done, the rapid evaporation of the alcohol causes the resin which it has held in solution to shrink up, presenting a sort of vermiform appearance, and leaving the copper between the particles of varnish open to the action of the acid. The object of the aqua-tinta is to imitate drawings made with India ink, bistre, sepia, &c. It is well enough adapted for slight subjects generally,

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and for large and coarse representations; but it fails, where minute and accurate detail is required.

We come, finally, to the art of engraving *on steel*, which has additional interest to Americans as the invention of one of their countrymen. Though there is reason to believe, that five or six of Albert Durer's prints, preserved in the British Museum, were taken from steel plates, and though there is an engraving by J. T. Smith, in 1805, of the ceiling of the Star Chamber in the "Topographical Illustrations of Westminster," undoubtedly taken from a steel plate, the art nevertheless does not seem to have been appreciated or understood till several years afterwards. In the year 1818, an inquiry was instituted, respecting the prevention of forgery, by the "Society for the Encouragement of Arts," in London; when it appeared from information gathered by the committee, that bank-notes, with ornamented borders, printed from steel plates, were actually in use in America; and a specimen of engraving on soft steel, was presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Warren. Soon after this, Messrs. Perkins and Fairman removed to London, and formed a connexion with Mr. Heath, an eminent engraver, for printing notes and other designs from steel plates. The great principle in this branch of the art is, to engrave on soft steel and harden it afterwards; and the superiority of this kind of engraving, over that on copper, consists in the greater number of impressions which may be taken from steel plates, and the superior delicacy of which they admit in the execution.

In addition to this, Perkins has resorted to another method for increasing the number of impressions. The plate being engraved and hardened, the impression is transferred in a spring press to a cylinder of soft steel, by rolling the latter over the plate several times, under a great pressure. The design is thus transferred in relief to the cylinder, which is then hardened, and may be used to make the same impression on plates of soft steel, or copper, from which prints may then be taken. This process, however, is only used in the preparation of plates intended for bank-notes and calico-printing. The ordinary engraving upon steel, which has now almost entirely superseded that on copper, is executed upon plates nearly decarbonated. They do not require hardening, as they will give a sufficient number of impressions without it.

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There is a species of engraving on copper called the *medallic*, which has been invented within the last twenty-five years, and is so beautiful a branch of the art that it merits a minute description. The object of this kind of engraving is, to give accurate representations of medals, coins, and basso-rilievos of a small size; and it is effected by applying a machine to the surface of the medal, which will trace a line on the copper corresponding exactly to the outline of the figure on the medal. Those who are familiar with a pentegraph will be able to form an idea of this machine. It is so contrived, that, as it slides over the surface of the coin, every elevation or depression which produces a perpendicular motion in the machine, causes at the same time a horizontal movement at the other extremity, which traces the line on the copper. Every time the machine passes over the coin, a single line is traced on the copper; and there is a delicately contrived screw, by which the machine may be pushed forward after each line is drawn, so as to make the next line as near to it as the operator chooses. The effect is to give an exact copy of the medal; and the drawing appears so salient, that we can hardly convince ourselves, at first, that we are looking upon a flat surface.

This beautiful machine will seem the more interesting to our readers, from the circumstance of its having been invented in this country. In the "Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania," (Vol. X. No. 3, for September, 1832,) we find some account of the invention, in the following passage;

"In 1817, by the use of a machine which had been invented in Philadelphia, Christian Gobrecht, die-sinker, produced upon copper an engraving from a medal having upon it the head of Alexander of Russia; from this engraving impressions were taken and distributed. One of these impressions we have seen.

"In 1819, Asa Spencer (now of the firm of Draper, Underwood & Co., bank-note engravers) took with him to London a machine of the kind above alluded to, which was principally designed for straight and waved-line ruling. This machine was used in London during the year just mentioned, and the mode of ruling waved lines, and of *copying medals*, was then exhibited and explained by Mr. Spencer to several artists," &c.

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In the above extract it will be observed, that we are not expressly informed who was the inventor; nor do we find it stated anywhere in the communication from which the extract is taken. We have been informed, by numerous artists in Philadelphia, that the contrivance of this ingenious and beautiful machine is undoubtedly to be ascribed to Mr. Spencer; that the machine used by Mr. Gobrecht was constructed by him, and that, consequently, the invention and perfection of the apparatus are the result of his ingenuity.

This branch of the art has received great attention both in England and France. Mr. Bate of London, took out a patent for a machine of this kind, in 1826, and has distinguished himself by the beauty of his medallic engravings. In 1830, a mechanician of Paris, Achille Collas, contrived a similar instrument, having taken the hint from a machine which was used for engraving watch-dials, cases, and snuff-boxes, called the *tour à guillocher*. And in 1834, a publication was commenced in Paris, under the title of "Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique," which has been published weekly ever since, each part containing four folio plates of medallic engraving, and a sheet of letter-press.

We have treated of the merely mechanical part of engraving. A much more difficult subject remains for us in the consideration of this art in a more extended sense; its various objects and capacities; the results already produced by it, and the rules which may be deduced from the specimens already before the world for the aid of future artists. It must be remembered, that art exists previously to all rules. It springs up first in the inspired mind, is afterwards visibly displayed, then admired, studied, and commented on. While an art is still in a progressive state, it is obvious, that its nature can only be partially discussed. It may possibly be so far advanced as to indicate with certainty all that it is capable of being made; but even then, the effect to be produced by this perfection cannot be entirely comprehended. And, if the progress made is less than this, it would certainly be undertaking too much, were any one to attempt to give a satisfactory account of the whole extent of the art.

Now the latter appears to be the case with engraving. We certainly cannot say, that this art is still in its infancy;

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for many of its most important objects seem to be accomplished, and the results produced are sufficient to place it among the most beautiful arts. But it is still in a state of progress. Every year witnesses improvement; invention is continually bringing something new to its aid. The power, flexibility, delicacy, and passion of the art seem to be yearly increased. While this is the case, we should be wrong in attempting to speak of it as we would of painting, sculpture, or any art which appears to have arrived at the fulness of perfection. The most that we can do, is, to examine what has already been effected; to deduce rules from the art as it actually exists; to examine its objects, and the extent to which they have been accomplished; and to form a conjecture, from what has been already attained, of its capacity for still greater improvement.

We shall consider engravings as divided into two great classes; those which are copies of the works of other artists, either paintings or designs in pencil, and those which are designed as well as executed by the same individual. Between these two classes there are great and important distinctions. The copying of the paintings of great masters implies a distinct talent of a high order; the power of comprehending and appreciating their style, and their various merits and defects, and of representing them by means of the graver. Copying from designs made for the engraver requires perhaps the least degree of talent. Yet even in this there is no small room for the exertion of ingenuity and taste. But in those works in which the same hand designs and sculptures, there may be merit of the highest order which the art admits; as these prints bear only the impress of one mind, which is capable of invention as well as imitation; which conveys its own fire, and gives its peculiar characteristics to the work.

In treating of the first class into which we have divided engravings, the first remark is, that the engraver does not here hold immediate converse with nature. His landscapes do not require him to have seen the country; and he needs no models for his forms and his countenances. Perfection, or accordance with nature, is not the legitimate object of this branch of the art. His purpose is to convey to the plate the peculiar characteristics of the original; even faults are not to be softened. It has been remarked by an ingenious writer, that engraving is the translation of painting; because

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the work of representing, by engraving, the ideas of genius which are expressed in the language of painting, is analogous to that of expressing in a foreign tongue the thoughts of a writer uttered in his own language; and the change which the conceptions of a painter must undergo, in being transferred from the glowing canvass over which the brush has swept, to the dotted, lined, and colorless print, is similar to the modification which takes place in the ideas and figures of a poet, when they are made to conform to the idioms and genius of a foreign language. The analogy, however, is not complete, because painting is a universal language; it needs no translation to make it understood; and engraving does not render it more intelligible to any one. In one sense, that is, in the power of multiplication, engraving bears the same relation to painting, that printing does to the manuscript; but here again the similitude fails, because the printer has nothing to do with copying the forms of the manuscripts; he is guided by words and thoughts, but not by forms. Perhaps the best way of expressing the relation, which subsists between the two arts, would be to call the engraver the herald of the painter. In one solitary spot of the wide world stands the inspired work, the masterpiece of art, the legacy of genius to kindred spirits in after times. The hand that traced those magical lines has long been cold in death; the eye that gleamed with inspiration on the work is closed, and the spirit that designed it returned ages ago to God who gave it. This miracle of art, preserved perhaps in the inner sanctuary of some royal gallery, enshrined within its costly temple, and valued beyond price,—more precious from the consideration that its beauty and glory are solitary, unrivalled, and never to be replaced if lost,—can be gazed on but by a few favored mortals. It is a holy oracle of art, and many who would consult it must go a long and weary pilgrimage before they can reach the shrine. But the voice of inspiration has gone forth, and there are prophets to catch the sounds, and herald them abroad over the wide world.

To this high office the engraver is devoted. He is the herald of the painter. He speaks in language less gorgeous, less imposing, less powerful, than the great original; and he only speaks more intelligibly, inasmuch as his language requires a smaller reach of intellect and taste to comprehend it. But it is his province to address the whole world; in every

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land is found his eloquent proclamation of the great truth (for surely every masterpiece of art is such), and in every land is seen his name, proudly honored in being inscribed by the side of his great master's, beneath his work.

We have said, that the engraver, who is devoted to copying the works of painters, holds no converse with nature. The remark, however, was made without any intention of depreciating this branch of the art. On the contrary, we deem this one of the noblest objects which the engraver can pursue. It is not to be placed on a level with copying in painting, for it implies, we apprehend, the exertion of a higher order of talent, that of doing justice in one art to the works of masters in another. The engraver from paintings is in a high degree an originator. We should certainly assign to the translator, who clothes his work in the language of melodious and high-wrought poetry, and at the same time gives a faithful representation of the thoughts, images, and style of the original, a much higher place than to him, who gives only a plain but literal version, in prose or in poetry, which bears no stamp of the translator's own mind, and adds nothing to the literature of the language. For example, Coleridge's translation of "Wallenstein," while it gives a faithful representation of Schiller, is at the same time a beautiful English poem, a positive and precious addition to the literature of our language. Cowper's translation of Homer is also a poem ; and a tolerably literal version ; but it introduces us to no acquaintance with the translator. We might read whole libraries of such poetry, and yet feel that we have gained no insight into his character. Now we should liken a well-executed engraving from a fine painting to a translation such as Coleridge's ; while a mere copy in oils is more like the translation by Cowper, literal and exact, but bearing the impress of no mind but that of the original artist.

Though the engraver from paintings does not hold immediate intercourse with nature, his province is still wide enough to satisfy the demands of genius. He enters upon an ideal world, and holds converse with beings of more than earthly beauty. He is dwelling in the groves and bowers of Eden, or amidst the gorgeous scenery of a world gone by. His firmament is lighted up with hues that seem to be poured down from heaven, and his clouds are tinted with splendors which even the golden west cannot vie with. His eyes are

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blest with visions of loftier worlds, and forms surpassing human. Before him is spread out the sea

> "Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
> Who after came from earth, sailing arrived
> Wafted by angels, or flew o'er the lake
> Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds;"

and that wondrous stairway,

> "Ascending by degrees magnificent
> Up to the wall of Heaven,"—

which the angels are traversing. The venerable forms of saints and martyrs, the celestial beauty of the Holy Mary, the grace, and dignity, and majesty of classic heroes and virgins, are around him to delight, elevate, and inspire.

In choosing the peculiar style of engraving to be used in copying the works of the masters of painting, there is great room for the exercise of taste. For dignified historical pieces, we should have no hesitation in choosing line engraving; for landscapes the mezzotinto may be used with good effect; where extreme delicacy is required, stippling may be resorted to. But line engraving seems to us most worthy of the attention of the artist, as it possesses greater power and compass than the other modes. Lines seem to possess, in the highest degree, the capacity of expression, as is abundantly demonstrated by outline engravings; and they certainly give a more accurate notion of pencil-drawing than stippling. Accordingly we find, that the greatest masters of the art have been in the habit of using this style in their choicest works. Morghen, we believe, always resorted to it, and it is the favorite style throughout Italy. Gmelin, a German artist of great eminence, used line engraving for his copies from the landscapes of Claude Lorraine. Woollett always preferred it, and most of the eminent British artists of the present day resort to it.

Of the fitness of line engraving to represent all the varieties of landscapes, there can be no doubt. One or two examples of very different kinds of landscapes will illustrate this position. We will endeavour to select from those which may be familiar to most of our readers.

Let us suppose that the scene to be represented is of a wild, mountainous, and sublime character; as, for instance, that beautiful engraving in Rogers's "Italy," by Smith, of the passage of Hannibal over the Alps. The lines, with the exception of a small portion of the foreground of the picture,

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are mostly drawn perpendicularly, and, where the shading is deepest, cross each other but little. There is an exquisite delicacy in the work, and yet a degree of simplicity which does justice to the sublimity of the scenery. The stern grandeur of the mountains, rising to the skies, and losing themselves in the clouds, is admirably represented, by the very sparingness with which the lines are drawn, and their extreme tenuity, as they fade into the white. The effect of long perpendicular lines, not deeply drawn, and fading in the misty distance, is very striking in such a scene. The same kind of engraving is equally well adapted to convey the idea of grandeur and sublimity in architecture; as may be seen in the engraving by Goodall, in Rogers's "Poems," of the interior of a Gothic church, where the lines, being drawn in the manner we are describing, give an idea of vast height, and convey in a wonderful manner the feeling universally inspired by this noble order of architecture.

In proportion as the landscape becomes more complicated, and includes a greater variety of objects, such as forests, lakes, rivers, cataracts, houses, animals, and, above all, foliage and grass, the engraving becomes less simple and uniform. The lines are much shorter, cross each other in a greater variety of angles, and are altogether more complicated and elaborate than in representing the bald, stern grandeur of mountainous scenery. For illustrations of our remarks, we need not look further than the beautiful books to which we have already referred. On the twelfth page of the "Poems" is a vignette, engraved by that admirable artist, Goodall, which, for lightness, delicacy, and grace, is not surpassed. It represents an English rural scene; a rising ground, shaded by a rich tuft of trees and bushes; a few gypsies at the foot of the hillock, their fire kindled underneath the emblematic cauldron, and their scanty wardrobe displayed on the line hard by. In the background is a windmill. Over this gentle scene the parting sun is pouring his mellow light, and his rays, reflected on the clouds, shoot out that long, fanlike splendor, which constitutes the most gorgeous sunset. The contrast between such a scene as this, and the rugged grandeur of the Alps is complete; and, accordingly, we find a very different style of engraving used to represent it. The lines are short, delicate, and running in every possible direction, though not apparently crossing each other much. The sky is formed

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with horizontal lines, which fade and are lost in the full light, where the sun's rays extend upward. The mill, it will be observed, is represented by simple perpendicular lines.

We have mentioned these two engravings as being specimens of strong contrast in landscapes. For all the different varieties of scenery, there must be corresponding modifications in the style of engraving resorted to. It may be suggested to us, that such remarks are superfluous; that we are only laying down rules, that common sense and the smallest share of taste would readily dictate. But, even granting this to be true, we still deem the remarks of some value, as demonstrating the power and capacities of line engraving. A landscape may be done in mezzotinto, or it may be represented by aqua-tinta; but we have given these two instances of landscapes to show the power of lines in representing scenes of an opposite character.

These engravings, it will be noticed, are made from drawings, not from paintings. But the principle is just the same. The two landscapes illustrate this power of line engraving quite as well as if they had been taken from that fine piece of David's, Napoleon at the foot of the Alps, or from one of Wilson's rich compositions.

The power of lines will be more fully comprehended, when we ascend to the higher branches of the art, that is, copies from historical paintings, and particularly the representations of countenances. It is a fact, which we presume none will dispute, that lines produce different effects upon us, accordingly as they are differently drawn. So universally, indeed, is this principle acknowledged, that by general consent the term *line of beauty* is agreed upon to express a particular motion of the pencil. Upon this single principle an extensive theory is founded, with regard to the art of linear engraving. Why it is, that lines differently drawn produce in us different emotions, why a regular curve is more agreeable than a straight or angular motion, why free and swelling lines afford more ease to the eye than abrupt or unvarying ones, we do not pretend to say. It is one of those questions, to which the only answer is, We are made so. It is the same with our other senses. No one can tell, for instance, why some combinations of sounds produce agreeable emotions, and others the contrary; why some make us feel joyful, and others sad. Neither can any one give a reason for the fact

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that the perfume of the rose is more to our taste than that of the poppy or the onion; or why sweet tastes please, and bitter disgust us. The same is the case with lines; some please, others offend, the eye. And besides this distinction, we may observe, that, of those which are agreeable, some produce one kind of emotion, others another. Horizontal lines in drawing affect us in one way, perpendicular lines in another. Lines curving upwards affect us differently from those which bend in the opposite direction.

It will easily be perceived from these remarks, that line engravings have, in some degree at least, the power of conveying the style of different painters. A skilful engraver would use, of course, different styles for different subjects. For one of Fuseli's fiery compositions, for instance, his lines would not be the same as for a Holy Family by Raphael. Where the hand of any great artist is easily recognised by the peculiarities of his style, it is not very difficult to convey these peculiarities in the engraved copy. None who is familiar with the works of Raphael would find much difficulty in recognising his style in a good engraving, even without having seen the original of the identical piece.

But the question occurs, whether a different kind of line is not to be used in copying from different artists, even supposing them to have been engaged on the same, or similar, subjects. Should not a difference be made in engraving, for instance, a Madonna of Raphael's, and one by Titian? We have no hesitation in asserting, that there should be; if the Madonna of the one artist produces different emotions from that of the other, then different kinds of lines should be used in engraving them, corresponding to these various emotions. There is a delightful chapter in Mrs. Jameson's "Diary of an Ennuyée," upon the Madonnas of the various great masters of Italy, in which, with a fine discrimination, she traces the different emotions which these paintings express and excite, and compares the work with the individual traits of the author. Now we are of opinion, that, for all these, there should be corresponding differences in engravings from them. The pure and celestial countenances of the Virgins of Raphael, with their mild, pensive, twilight radiance, would not be well copied by the same class of lines that would be used for the full-orbed, passionate beauty of the Madonnas of Titian; a Holy Family by Poussin would be represented by different lines from those used to copy a Holy Family by Andrea del Sarto.

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This science of lines appears to be yet only in its infancy; and, indeed, the whole amount of linear engraving, from its first discovery up to the present time, is only a series of experiments which may serve as the beginning of the science. To all artists who have a real love and respect for their profession we earnestly recommend the subject; for we are convinced that the careful study of it, with the proper objects, would lead to a more rapid improvement in the art of engraving than has ever yet been witnessed. The questions to be determined are, What lines are suited to express the different emotions? What are the different styles to be used in correspondence with the style of the original paintings? Can the style of each great master be made distinct in the engraving? Can any variety or combination of lines convey a notion of the coloring of the various artists? A careful examination of the different engravings, from the early days of the art up to the period of the most perfect specimens, would perhaps lead to a satisfactory answer to some or all of these questions. But, above all, were the study made by an artist with the graver in his hand, and the copper before him, to test by experiment the principles of the science as they would be developed, the result might prove of the highest benefit to the art.

Outline engravings constitute a distinct, and, of late, an important department of the art. The principal works in this branch are the designs of Flaxman, engraved by others; and those of the brothers Riepenhausen, and of Retzsch, engraved by themselves. The beautiful illustrations of Flaxman are probably known to most of our readers. They consist of drawings from the Iliad and Odyssey, from the Theogony of Hesiod, the Tragedies of Æschylus, and the Divine Comedy of Dante, besides a restoration of the shield of Achilles as described in the Iliad. The great merit of Flaxman consists in the power he displays of comprehending and expressing the spirit of the antique. A perfect master of the art of drawing, and an artist in the highest sense of the word, he seemed to have made his dwelling among by-gone men, and to have lived in scenes which have passed away for ever. He made himself, by years of study, perfectly familiar with all the forms of classic life; and we would recommend his works to the young scholar as one of the most profitable as well as delightful forms under which Grecian antiquities may be studied. Many pages, and even chapters, of

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Potter, might be found beautifully condensed and commented upon in any one of Flaxman's drawings from the antique.*

The works of the Riepenhausens, though inferior to Flaxman in extent and variety, display an equal acquaintance with the antique. Their principal effort is a restoration of the famous paintings of Polygnotus at Athens, from the description given of them by Pausanias. These engravings fill two large volumes, one containing scenes from the capture of Troy, the other from the descent into the realm of Pluto. The works of these admirable Germans deserve to be ranked along with those of the great English artist. Yet the latter undoubtedly evince a wider range of genius. In the illustrations of Dante, Flaxman has shown the power of combining the antique with the Gothic, in the same grand and striking manner in which this union is displayed in some of the majestic architecture of Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is an analogy to be discovered between the semi-classic and semi-romantic poem of the great Tuscan bard, and the sublime cathedrals of Pisa, of Florence, and of Venice ; and Flaxman seems to have been inspired by the same blending of Gothic grandeur and awfulness with classic grace, in his illustrations of the Divine Comedy. The only work of the Riepenhausens besides the classic restoration, is, we believe, that exquisite *fantasia*, the life of Raphael, in outline engravings.

We have no hesitation in placing Moritz Retzsch at the head of all outline engravers, both because we think that the romantic art, in which he excels, requires a higher reach of genius than the classic, and because he displays a greater variety and compass of powers than any artist whose works have ever come within our observation. We shall not attempt an analysis of his works in this place, both for want of room, having already prolonged our essay too much, and because the subject has been most worthily treated in a very interesting article in the London "Foreign Quarterly Re-

* Flaxman's illustrations of the Iliad have, probably, been made familiar to many of our readers, by the beautiful edition of that poem, prepared a few years since by Professor Felton. Through the work are interspersed copies of Flaxman's designs, as first engraved, executed in a style which does great credit to the American artist. He has succeeded in conveying the spirited and graceful touch of the original, and at the same time has overcome the difficulty of reducing the illustrations to the octavo size. These engravings have been published in a separate volume, and we recommend them to the attention of our readers.

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view." We shall content ourselves with referring to a few of Retzsch's most remarkable characteristics.

In the first place, then, no one can fail to be struck with the wide field which his pencil traverses. In his different illustrations, he seems to have represented almost every variety that human life affords, every passion, every emotion, every event which can most deeply affect the mind or heart. Were the task assigned us of selecting from all the works of Shakspeare, those which should illustrate, most satisfactorily, the wide compass of his powers, we should be disposed to make the choice, that Retzsch has done, of Macbeth, Hamlet, and Romeo and Juliet. It seems as if almost every scene that life, real or fancied, offers, could be found in these illustrations of Shakspeare; the camp, the battle-field, the banquet, the lonely closet, the burning hour of stolen love, the horrid cave where witches boil their hell-broth, and the dim phantoms of kings flitting in noiseless array, — the frowning castle and the torch-lit palace, — all that enters into the composition of human experience or thought, are represented with equal skill, power, and fidelity in these masterly drawings.

Power and terror seem to be but ministering attendants to this wonderful master. His delineations of the Prince of Darkness, though of a different character from Milton's awful picture, are scarcely inferior at times, in sublimity, to the fallen Archangel of our great Epic. In that terrific sketch, "The Game of Life," for instance, we discover in the iron frame and the thunder-blasted visage of man's great antagonist, the same being, who in the "Paradise Lost" reviles and blasphemes the sun, and glares on the new creation with a feeling of hatred and malice deeper than hell itself. Less sublime, but perhaps even more terrific, are the night-ride of Faust and Mephistophiles on the demon steeds, the maddening interview with Margaret in the dungeon, and the scene in "Fridolin," where the Huntsman is thrust into the blazing furnace.

But would we seek the opposite extreme to these hideous sights, let us turn to the "Song of the Bell." That exquisite picture well known by the title of "The German lovers," seems to concentrate all of life that is peaceful, gentle, and boundlessly happy, when in truth, as the poet has it, "the eye sees heaven open and the heart revels in bliss." Indeed nearly all the illustrations of the "Song of the Bell" are of a character very different from most of the works of Retzsch.

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They have a pastoral simplicity, gentleness, and repose, to which we turn with pleasure and refreshment, after our souls have been harrowed up by the appalling scenes of his tragic representations. There is less of crime depicted in this than the other works, less of that awful machinery of Hell, which this artist has the power of blending so skilfully with his scenes of life, that we become superstitious as we gaze at them, and are ready to start like those who have heard ghost-stories, fearing that the Great Enemy himself may be at the moment scowling upon us, or some ugly imp leering with eyes of malice upon our motions, or reading our thoughts.

Not less remarkable is the talent with which Retzsch portrays incidents of the deepest pathos; scenes which combine the air of repose with sorrow so deep and heart-rending, that we feel as if we were gazing on Tragedy herself. Of this character are the representations of Ophelia, when she appears in her wild array of weeds and flowers, of Margaret and Faust, where the latter offers her the potion, of Margaret sitting alone before the spinning-wheel, of the wedding at the friar's cell in "Romeo and Juliet."

A little change, and these smothered passions blaze out with a volcano's fury, and the deep moan of sorrow swells to the maddening cry of agony and despair. Such are the night-walk of Lady Macbeth, the prayer of the king in "Hamlet," and of Margaret before the image of the Virgin, the prison scene of Margaret and Faust, and the parting of Romeo and Juliet in the morning.

With all these great and splendid powers, Retzsch combines a minuteness and fidelity in details, which are not less surprising. Nothing is omitted that can in any way contribute to the effect of a scene; and, when we have received the general impression which any one of his representations produces, we may spend a long time in the study of the various parts of the picture, in which we shall not fail to discover many beautiful thoughts which greatly enhance the value of the work. There is a fertility and bountifulness in his conceptions, which remind us of the boundlessness of nature. For instance, in the Leipsic edition of the Illustrations of Hamlet, which lies before us, we find that, not content with the splendid array of scenery which he had created to adorn the thoughts of Shakspeare, he has added a picture for the title-page, or the outside cover, of such deep, calm, and sol-

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emn repose, that we look upon it after contemplating the heart-rending scenes of the tragedy, with the same emotion that a strain of soft and sad music would awaken. It represents a Gothic tomb or monument, on which is resting the form of Hamlet, composed in the sleep of death. Above, appears the dim visage of the royal Phantom. In Gothic niches, and beneath the overhanging canopies, are seen as supporters, on one side the effigies of the king and queen, their eyes closed in eternal sleep, and a hideous demon extending his claws above them as if to claim them for his own. On the other side, in the same position, and sleeping too in death, are the forms of Polonius and Ophelia. But a cherub is overshadowing them with his wings, and seems to invoke blessings on their heads. On the base of the tomb are seen two swords piercing a heart, and the picture of Hamlet absorbed in prayer. The whole piece breathes an air of solemnity and repose. The thrilling scenes of the drama are over; and the busy actors are sunk to rest. The diadem is now but worthless dross to him that wore it. Poor Ophelia's broken heart throbs no longer. The fiery spirit of Laertes is quenched. The night-walk on the castle platform, the grave-yard philosophy, and the fierce duel, are but a tale that is told; and Hamlet's world-wearied soul, liberated from this mortal coil, has gone to seek that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns.*

We had much more to say upon the subject of engraving. A treatise on this subject is incomplete, which does not give the reader information with regard to the best artists both of the present day and of an earlier period in the various countries of Europe. We had intended also to speak of the state of the art in this country, which would have led to some re-

* Since this article was prepared, we have obtained Retzsch's fourth work on Shakspeare, comprising illustrations of King Lear. The power of the artist does not flag in this most difficult task. The scenes are of a more stirring and high-wrought character than prevails in most of his previous works; and, while he has done justice to the energy with which they were conceived by the great master, he has very skilfully avoided the exaggeration and ranting into which the subject would tend to lead him. We have always thought that the painting of Lear by West, in the Boston Athenæum, is marked somewhat strongly with these faults, conveying the idea of *stage effect*. The scene of Lear recognising Cordelia is, perhaps, the most exquisite in this volume of illustrations. We are almost at a loss to describe the effect produced upon our feelings in contemplating these powerful delineations. Could the storm of agitated, sublime, and frightful dreams, with its occasional intervals of soothing vision, be embodied visibly, it seems as if such forms as these illustrations would be taken.

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marks upon wood engraving. Upon this, we will, at present, only observe, that a very excellent essay upon wood engraving appeared in a late number of the "London and Westminster Review"; particularly valuable by being illustrated by specimens. The American re-publishers have had the sagacity to print the essay without the illustrations, which is about as wise as representing the tragedy of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out by particular request.

ART. V. — *North American Herpetology; or a Description of the Reptiles inhabiting the United States.* By JOHN EDWARDS HOLBROOK, M. D., Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, &c. &c. 4to. Philadelphia: J. Dobson. Vol. I. 1836. Vol. II. 1838. pp. 120 and 125.

WHEN we learned, several years since, that Dr. Holbrook was preparing a complete work upon the Reptiles of this country, we were forcibly impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking, and the difficulties which would unavoidably accompany its prosecution. Aware, however, of his long-continued investigations and indefatigable industry, we anxiously awaited the publication of the first volume, confident that it would be creditable to its author. It more than realized our sanguine expectations. In less than two years after its appearance, a second volume has issued from the press. Invaluable as the work is to the American herpetologist, we regret to find that it has as yet attracted little attention; a circumstance, which makes it the more imperative upon us to express, in some detail, our sense of its great merit.

The first volume opens with a chapter upon the "organization of reptiles," in which the organs of digestion, absorption, circulation, and respiration, together with their physiology, the structure of the nervous system, and of the organs of sense, are treated somewhat at length; and, while the accuracy of the observations will be observed with delight by the scientific naturalist, the clear and interesting manner in which the subject is elucidated cannot but afford to the general reader

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equal pleasure and improvement. The portion relating to the senses, particularly, is highly instructive.

Under the head of "Digestive Organs," our author observes, when speaking of the œsophagus,

"In some of the Chelonian animals, there are many horny points in the œsophagus, directed backwards or towards the stomach, which may be useful in preventing the escape of food."—Vol. I. p. 16.

He has probably never had opportunity to examine that curious and very rare tortoise, the *Sphargis coriacea*, or *leather tortoise*, a specimen of which, more than seven feet in length, was, in the year 1824, captured asleep upon the surface of the water in Massachusetts Bay. This is the only specimen we have ever known to have been taken on the coast of the United States. Upon dissection, its œsophagus was found to be thickly studded not merely with "horny points," but with large, very strong, *horny spines*, some of which were two inches in length.

In the observations upon the organ of *taste*, we find the following sentence,

"All reptiles have a tongue, varying, however, greatly in its shape, organization, and mode of attachment, but certainly having little claim to be considered as an organ of taste."—p. 38.

Had our author remarked, that all reptiles had organs of taste, we should not feel called upon to refer to this statement. But having recently had the good fortune to meet with a genus, the *Pipa*, one of whose characters, as pointed out by Laurenti, is, the "absence of a tongue," we are bound to point out an exception to his remarks. In the specimens of the Pipa (*Rana pipa*, L.) sent to the Boston Society of Natural History, the last season, from Surinam, by Dr. Craigin of that place, not the slightest rudiment of a tongue can be perceived.

The first volume of the work before us contains descriptions of twenty-three species, all accompanied with figures drawn from living specimens, one third of which were previously unknown to the naturalist. Every species is very minutely described, its geographical limits pointed out, and its habits elucidated, oftentimes with great perspicuity, awakening uncommon interest in the mind of the reader. Much labor is likewise bestowed in settling the synonymes, than

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which nothing could more facilitate the studies of the herpetologist. A similar plan is pursued, throughout the volume, with regard to the arrangement of the descriptions; and, although some of course extend to a considerably greater length than others, they are all so minute and comprehensive that they could not be mistaken, even were they not illustrated by the faithful and beautiful plates.

The first animal described is the *Testudo polyphemus;* the only species of Testudo yet known in the United States. Having pointed out its specific characters, Dr. Holbrook thus portrays its habits.

"They select dry and sandy places, are generally found in troops, and are very abundant in pine barren countries. They are gentle in their habits, living entirely on vegetable substances; they are fond of the sweet potato, (*Convolvulus Batatas,*) and at times do much injury to gardens, by destroying melons, as well as bulbous roots, &c. &c. In the wild state they are represented as nocturnal animals, or as seeking their food by night; when domesticated, and I have kept many of them for years, they may be seen grazing at all hours of the day. When first placed in confinement, they chose the lowest part of the garden, where they could most easily burrow; this spot being once overflowed by salt water, in a high spring tide, they migrated to the upper part, nearly eighty yards distant, and prepared anew their habitations. They seldom wandered far from their holes, and generally spent part of the day in their burrows. They delighted in the sun in mild weather, but could not support the intense heat of our summer noons; at those hours they retreated to their holes, or sought shelter from the scorching rays of the sun, under the shade of broad-leaved plants; a *tanyer*, (*Arum esculentum,*) that grew near their holes, was a favorite haunt. They could not endure rain, and retreated hastily to their burrows, or to other shelter, at the coming on of a shower. As winter approached, they confined themselves to the immediate neighbourhood of their holes, and basked in the sunshine; as the cold increased, they retired to their burrows, where they became torpid; a few warm days, however, even in winter, would again restore them to life and activity."—pp. 44, 45.

The next three species are beautiful *Emydæ*, sent by Professor Troost to the author, from the western rivers, to which are given the appropriate names of *hieroglyphica*, *megacephala*, and *Troostii*. But little more than a simple

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description of these species is furnished us, as their habits are comparatively unknown. The remaining *Emys* of this volume, the *Muhlenbergii*, which *Say* called *biguttata*, is found, our author remarks, "only in New Jersey and East Pennsylvania, and is rare even in these districts."

The next species is the *Ameiva sex-lineata*, known commonly as the *striped lizard*, and the familiar representative of the lizard in the United States, as of the true lizards we have none. Its habits are thus described.

"This is a very lively, active animal, choosing dry and sandy places for its residence, and is frequently met with in the neighbourhood of plantations, or near fences and hedges; most usually it is seen on the ground in search of insects, but it will take to trees when pursued. Its motions are remarkably quick; it runs with great speed, and climbs with facility; yet it cannot leap from branch to branch, or from tree to tree, like the *Anolius carolinensis*. The *Ameiva sex-lineata* is very timid; it feeds on insects, and generally seeks its food toward the close of the day, when they may be seen in cornfields far from their usual retreat; and not unfrequently I have met male and female in company." — p. 65.

The *Anolius Carolinensis*, another animal of the lizard kind, and usually called *Chameleon*, or *green lizard*, from its delicate green color, we have had an opportunity of seeing alive, and we cannot refrain from expressing our gratification at the faithfulness of the description, and the excellence of the figure. The following account of this species, shows the accurate observation of the author.

"The *Anolius Carolinensis* is a bold and daring animal, haunting out-houses and garden fences; and in new settlements it even enters the houses, walking over the tables and other articles of furniture, in search of flies. It is very active, climbing trees with great rapidity, and leaping with ease from branch to branch, or from tree to tree; securing itself even on the leaves, by means of the oval disks of the fingers and toes; which enable it also to walk easily on glass, and on the sides and ceilings of rooms. It feeds on insects, and destroys great numbers, seizing them suddenly, and devouring them, unrestrained even by the presence of man. In general, they hybernate later than other animals of the same class, their favorite retreats being gardens and old buildings; they often retire to green-houses, or conservatories, where they may be frequently seen active, even in winter, but never of that rich yellow green as in the

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summer season. In the spring season, they are extremely quarrelsome ; two males seldom meet without a furious battle, which frequently results in the loss of part of the tail, or some other injury, to one or both of the combatants. Before the contest, the animal usually remains stationary for a moment, elevates and depresses its head several times, inflates his gular sac, which now becomes of a bright vermilion, and then suddenly springs at his enemy. After the first heats of spring have passed, they become less quarrelsome, and many are seen quietly living together in the same neighbourhood ; they retain at all times the habit of inflating the sac, even when quietly basking in the sun ; and at those times the coloring of the animal has the liquid brilliancy of the emerald." — pp. 69, 70.

Two species of *Bufo* had been supposed to be identical. One of these, our common toad, generally called the *musicus*, is here at the suggestion of Le Conte, described as the *Americanus*, on account of its extended distribution. From our author's interesting remarks respecting this species, we would extract only a single observation.

"It has been commonly supposed that the humor exuding from the skin and glands is poisonous ; yet no experiments have proved it so, and certainly no injury has ever arisen from handling or examining the animal." — p. 77.

In the account of the *Bufo lentiginosus*, the southern species, from which the preceding is separated, we find the following amusing anecdote of its instinct.

"I have seen an individual, kept for a long space of time, which became perfectly tame. During the summer months it would retire to a corner of the room, into a habitation it had prepared for itself, in a small quantity of earth, placed there for its convenience. Towards evening it would wander about the room in search of food, seizing greedily whatever insect came in his way. Some water having been squeezed from a sponge upon his head, one hot day in July, he returned the next to the same spot, and seemed very well pleased with the repetition ; nor did he fail, during the extreme heat of the summer, to repair to it frequently, in search of his shower-bath." — p. 81.

A singular little *Engystoma*, a kind of animal very similar to a toad, is here for the first time described, to which the specific name, *Carolinense*, is given. It is the only species of the genus which has been met with in the United States, and has not as yet been discovered north of Charleston.

A new and very curious genus is next presented us, which

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our author calls *Scaphiopus*. It possesses the following characters, showing it to be a sort of connecting link between the toad and frog.

"Body short, thick, swollen; head short; minute teeth in the upper jaw and on the palate; a small, glandular wart behind the ear, from which a watery fluid can be pressed; posterior extremities short, stout, and muscular; leg shorter than the thigh; a spade-like horny process occupies the position of a sixth toe, and is used by the animal in excavating." — p. 85.

The peculiarities of its organization, are at once explained by the habits of the only known species, the *solitarius*.

"This is a strange animal, — an odd mixture of toad and frog, having the teeth of the one and the rudimental post-tympanal glands of the other; it approaches, however, nearest the toad in its form and habits, as it never ventures in water except at the breeding season; it lives in small holes about six inches deep, excavated by itself in the earth, which for a long time I took for holes of insects; here it resides like the ant-lion, seizing upon such unwary insects as may enter its dwelling. It never leaves its hole, except in the evening or after long-continued rains. It shows great dexterity in making this dwelling; sometimes using the *nates*, and fastening itself by the spade-like process; at others it uses the legs with these processes, like a shovel, and will in this way conceal itself with great rapidity. In progression its motions are not very lively, and its powers of leaping but feebly developed. It appears early in March, after the first heavy rains of spring, and at once seeks its mate." — p. 87.

The descriptions of the frogs, *halecina*, *palustris*, and *sylvatica*, our common species, are all that the student could desire. Without the excellent plates, the author would have been perfectly intelligible.

A striking instance of the limited distribution of some reptiles is shown in the *Rana ornata*, a pretty species of frog, made known to naturalists by our author, who observes;

"This animal has hitherto been found only in South Carolina, and as yet only in one locality, about four miles from Charleston, between the Cooper and Ashley rivers, where it abounds." — p. 98.

Our common and beautiful *tree toad*, the *Hyla versicolor*, is here, for the first time, figured. The plate is well done, and the observations relating to its habits are very accurate.

When speaking of the *Hyla squirella*, our author remarks,

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that it has not been found further north than the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, and therefore that must be considered its most northern limit. During the last season we received one from Roxbury, within three miles of Boston. So that it will probably be found to extend as far north as the preceding species.

Descriptions of five beautifully delineated species of *Coluber* terminate the first volume.

The *coach-whip snake*, *flagelliformis*, of which we have a fine figure, is so rare, even in those Southern states in which it is found, that our author says, "During a seven years' search I have never seen but one living specimen."

A beautiful new species, five feet three inches in length, from the Alleghany mountains, is called *Alleghaniensis*. And another, four feet five inches in length, receives the name of *abacurus*.

The plates are extremely well executed, preserving so well the appearance of nature, that no one would suspect for a moment, that they were drawn from preserved or distorted specimens. The attitudes, in many instances, of the species are strikingly faithful. Of those which have fallen under our notice alive, we can speak more decidedly, and would therefore point to the figures of the *Anolius Carolinensis*, *Bufo Americanus*, *Rana halecina*, *palustris* and *sylvatica*, *Hyla versicolor* and *squirella*, as being exceedingly correct.

The second volume of the work contains descriptions and figures of twenty-eight species, four of which are new to science. Nearly one half of the volume is composed of descriptions of nine species of *Emydæ*, *fresh water tortoises*. No little confusion had previously existed among several of these species. One of our first herpetologists has said, he could not distinguish the specific characters of five of them. Our author has settled their distinctions with the utmost clearness ; and his descriptions of the *serrata*, *reticulata*, *rubriventris*, and *Floridana* are illustrated with plates which require neither the eye of the naturalist to distinguish, nor of the artist to admire. To a fine large species, fifteen inches in length, common around Mobile, but previously undescribed, our author gives the name of *Mobilensis*. Three species of *Salamander* are presented us ; two of which, the *dorsalis* and *symmetrica*, are common in New England.

If, in the pages we have passed over, no errors have been

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referred to, it is because none have been perceived of sufficient importance to demand notice. We should have been better pleased, it is true, to have seen, instead of the bronzed *carapace* (upper shell) of the *Emys guttata* (our common and beautiful speckled tortoise), its natural color. But our author, in his description of this species, says, "the whole upper surface of this animal, the head as well as the extremities, is black," &c. &c., showing conclusively his own accuracy, and that the fault is that of the artist. But the same motive, which has excited us thus freely to speak of the beauties and value of the work before us, prompts us to point out what appears inaccurate. In the description of the *Salamander dorsalis*, the color is thus spoken of.

"The whole superior surface of the *Salamander dorsalis*, neck, head, and body, as well as the tail and extremities, is of an olive color, with a strong tinge of green, &c."—Vol. II. p. 58.

And the coloring of the plate corresponds with the description. The *dorsalis*, as seen in Massachusetts, has its whole upper as well as its under surface sprinkled with innumerable black dots. A defect appears in the lower figure of the plate, owing to the right anterior extremity being placed further back on the body than the left. The figures of the *symmetrica* also are unnatural, on account of the disproportion between the anterior and posterior extremities. The remaining salamander is a new and singularly marked species, which is appropriately called *gutto-lineata*.

The habits of the dreaded *Trigonocephalus piscivorus*, the *water moccasin*, are thus illustrated.

"It is found about damp, swampy places, or in water, — far from which it is never observed. In summer, numbers of these serpents are seen resting on the low branches of such trees as overhang the water, into which they plunge on the slightest alarm. Catesby thinks they select these places to watch for their prey. They merely choose them in order to bask in the sun; for in situations deprived of trees, as the ditches of rice-fields, their lurking-places are often on dry banks. They are the terror of the negroes that labor about rice plantations, where they are more dreaded than the rattlesnake, which only bites when irritated or in self-defence, or to secure its prey; the water moccasin, on the contrary, attacks every thing that comes within its reach, erecting its head and opening its mouth for some seconds before it strikes. I have placed in a cage with the water moccasin several of the harmless snakes, as

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the *Coluber guttatus*, *Coluber getulus*, &c., at a time ; they all evinced the greatest distress, hanging to the sides of the cage, and endeavouring by every means to escape from their enemy, who attacked them all in turn. Two animals of its own species were then thrown into the cage ; it seemed instantly aware of the character of its visitors, and became perfectly quiet. Indeed, I have often received four or five of these animals in safety, after their having peaceably travelled together a journey of fifty miles in the same box." — p. 65.

Three species of *Crotalus* (*rattlesnake*), are described, the plates accompanying which are very good. Upon the *miliarius*, we find the following remarks ;

"The *Crotalus miliarius* is greatly dreaded, as it gives but a very slight warning with its rattle ; and, unlike the *Crotalus durissus*, will frequently be the aggressor. By the common people its bite is thought to be more destructive, and its venom more active, than that of the larger species ; various experiments have, however, satisfied me of the fallacy of this opinion. It is probable, that each *Crotalus* has the requisite quantity of venom to destroy the animals on which it preys, for it is certain that the *miliarius* can easily kill a small bird, such as the towhee bunting, a pigeon, or a field-mouse ; but a cat that was bitten several times, at different intervals, appeared to suffer much, and to droop for thirty-six hours, at the end of which time the effects of the poison entirely disappeared ; the same animal was long afterwards destroyed by a single blow of the *Crotalus durissus*." — p. 76.

The *adamanteus* is thus graphically depicted.

" The *Crotalus adamanteus* is the largest of our rattlesnakes, reaching even to the length of eight feet. The individual from which the accompanying plate was taken, had reached the length of nearly six feet, and I have seen others over seven feet long ; a more disgusting and terrific animal cannot be imagined than this ; its dusky color, bloated body, and sinister eyes, of sparkling grey and yellow, with the projecting orbital plates, combine to form an expression of sullen ferocity unsurpassed in the brute creation." — p. 79.

The plate of the next species, the *durissus*, the *common rattlesnake* of New England, is admirable. The author's remarks upon the habits of this species are valuable, as correcting current errors upon the subject.

"The *Crotalus durissus* lives on rabbits, squirrels, rats, &c.; and in general is a remarkably slow and sluggish animal, lying quietly in wait for his prey, and never wantonly attacking or

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destroying animals, except as food, unless disturbed by them. A single touch, however, will effect this; even rustling the leaves in his neighbourhood is sufficient to irritate him. On these occasions he immediately coils himself, shakes his rattles violently in sign of rage, and strikes at whatever is placed within his reach. In his native woods, one may pass within a few feet of him unmolested; though aware of the passenger's presence, he either lies quiet or glides away to a more retired spot, unlike some of the innocent snakes, that I have known attack passers-by, at certain seasons of the year. He never follows the object of his rage, whether an animal that has unwarily approached so near as to touch him, or only a stick thrust at him to provoke his anger, but strikes on the spot, and prepares to repeat the blow; or he may slowly retreat, like an unconquered enemy, sure of his strength, but not choosing further combat. It is remarkable, that he never strikes unless coiled; so that, if once thrown from this position, he may be approached with less danger.

"As to the fascinating or charming power of the rattlesnake, I have every reason to believe it a fable; and the wonderful effects, related by credible witnesses, are attributable rather to terror than to any mysterious influence not possessed by all venomous or ferocious animals upon their weak, timid, and defenceless prey. The rattlesnake's charm lies in the horror of his appearance, and the instinctive sense of danger that seizes a feeble animal, fallen suddenly into the presence of an enemy of such a threatening aspect."— p. 83.

That the age of the rattlesnake cannot be ascertained from the number of its rattles, is evident from the following observations.

"It is commonly supposed that the number of rattles marks the age of the animal, a new one being added annually to those already existing. It is now certain, that rattlesnakes have been known to gain more than one rattle in a year, and to lose in proportion, the exact number being regulated no doubt by the state of the animal as to health, nourishment, liberty, &c. I have known two rattles added in one year, and Dr. Bachman has observed four produced in the same length of time. Mr. Peale, of the Philadelphia Museum, kept a living female rattlesnake for fourteen years. It had when it came into his possession eleven rattles, several were lost annually and new ones took their place; at its death, after fourteen years' confinement, there were still but eleven joints, although it had increased four inches in length. It is thus evident, that the growth of their appendages is irregular, and that the age of the animal cannot be determined from their number. The number of

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rattles varies much; the largest I ever saw was twenty-one, all of which were perfect." — p. 85.

To such as involuntarily shudder at the mere mention of a *snake*, a single remark of our author cannot be useless, as showing the folly of cherishing such aversions; speaking of the *Coluber æstivus*, he says,

"This beautiful snake is perfectly harmless and gentle, easily domesticated, and takes readily its food from the hand. I have seen it carried in the pocket, or twisted round the arm or neck as a plaything, without once evincing any disposition to mischief." — p. 120.

Besides the species we have thus cursorily referred to, the *Elaps fulvius*, *Heterodon platirhinos*, *Scincus erythrocephalus*, *Heterodon niger*, *Coluber fasciatus*, *guttatus*, *punctatus*, and *æstivus*, as well as two new species, the *Coluber taxispilotus* and *elapsoïdes*, are included in this volume. We repeat, that the work is a real acquisition to the natural history of the country. The minute accuracy of detail in description, exhibited on every page, together with the constant endeavour to ascertain the geographical limits of the species, and to collect all attainable facts with regard to their habits, will establish the scientific reputation of our author upon an enviable basis. We look with eagerness for the appearance of the succeeding volumes.

ART. VI. — 1. *Memoirs of Aaron Burr, with Miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence.* By MATTHEW L. DAVIS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. *The Private Journal of* AARON BURR, *during his Residence of Four Years in Europe, with Selections from his Correspondence.* Edited by MATTHEW L. DAVIS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo.

WE know of no reason why a biography should necessarily be a eulogy, though in most cases it is made so. Neither are we certain, that the history of a bad man, judiciously written, would not be more useful to the world, than that of a good one indiscriminately praised. The "Newgate Calendar" is an interesting book, notwithstanding its very coarse delineation of character, and its general substitution of wretched

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cant for the tone of true moral reflection. It exhibits the human species under an aspect not very agreeable, it must be confessed, but still, under one which it is daily and hourly assuming; perfect ignorance of which can be indulged in by no person, without leading him to very one-sided judgments of the virtues as well as of the vices of his kind. We must form a distinct idea of the depth to which man may be degraded by the indulgence of his evil passions, before we can fully estimate the height to which a victory over them raises him. It is the spirit in which the life of any distinguished individual is written, far more than the bare record of what he did, which should be regarded as the valuable portion of biography. There are no perfect heroes out of the regions of romance. When we see men described as such in books professing to speak of them as they really were, we know at once that the record is not and cannot be true. There is somewhere falsification or suppression, innocent, good-natured, or artful, which, however it may adorn the object for whom it is used, spoils the book for the rest of the world. We can claim kindred only with flesh and blood like ourselves; with those who are described as subject to appetites, to passions, and to impulses, good or bad, of the same kind with those which we feel to be working in us. We go to the history of the great good and great bad men who have lived before us, in order to find out what made them good and bad, and to observe and analyze the parts which went to the formation of their several characters, the connecting links which knit thoughts and words and deeds into the grand chain of human action. In order to draw benefit from the study, it is entirely indifferent whether the subjects presented are of that description in which virtuous principles have predominated or otherwise, provided both kinds are examined, and the truth has been told about them with simplicity. The varnish of defective morality is worse than the daubing of extravagant flattery, because it is more likely to deceive. And young minds, which have not yet arrived at the power of full discrimination in moral questions, are more likely to be misled by sophistical explanations of men's actions, which assume obvious and natural motives for their groundwork, than by the free use of superlative attributes, which their common sense dictates to them at once to disregard, because not resting upon truth.

We are not very sure, that Mr. Davis will come up to

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the mark which we have fixed for a biographer. He certainly does not praise his hero unduly ; but we are clear, that he does not censure him as he ought. Perhaps we hardly ourselves understand the spirit of his epigraph, through which he appears to have intended to convey an idea of his design. Shakspeare had not probably done much in the way of rhetoric and oratory as a study ; but he knew man ; and, when he presented Mark Antony, as addressing the Roman citizens over the body of the murdered Cæsar, he put into his mouth not such words as perhaps he would have thought the most proper to be said, but such as suited the supposed design of the individual who was to use them. He makes him a hypocrite and a villain, but not talking as if he was either. His apparent design, in commencing his harangue, is to calm their passions ; his real one, to unsettle their judgment, and to cloud their reason, which had condemned the ambition of his chief. He recalls to their minds Cæsar's kind feelings to them, notwithstanding that he begins by saying, as Mr. Davis has quoted,

"I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him."

And throughout the speech of fair seeming, we gather only by natural implication the real and foul truth at the bottom of it, that Antony, burning with rancorous feelings against the persons who had destroyed the patron of his fortunes, was using the body of that patron as an instrument by which he might utterly overthrow and destroy them, and upon their ruin establish himself.

Now we do not mean to insinuate, that Mr. Davis had the sense of the whole speech in his mind, when he took the extract from it to adorn his title-page. Nor do we in truth suppose, that he designed to signify any more by it than a wish to be absolved from the ordinary obligations of eulogy, which are generally supposed to weigh upon every biographer. Yet, even in this view of the case, we think he has been injudicious. Nobody would have found fault with him for praising Mr. Burr too little, whereas many would, as they do, condemn his half-way and inefficient censure. The choice of his quotation is unlucky in this, that it unavoidably associates with his work the commencement of a hypocrite's oration as the symbolical representation of its general character. Not that this is really the proper idea to be had of the book. Far from it. But it will be that entertained by the many, who never go beyond title-pages. We propose to ex-

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amine with freedom what we think the grievous faults of the works before us; but we shall never find in them faults of simulation, nor consider their author a hypocrite. Mr. Davis, to our eyes, fails to paint Aaron Burr in his true colors; but he does not use wrong ones. His picture wants tone and depth, as the artists say, to make it true and lasting. The reason of the deficiency, not perhaps suspected by the author himself, is yet obvious enough to any other person. The hero and his biographer sympathized personally and politically through life; the consequence of which was, that familiarity which breeds indifference to the less glaring characteristics of conduct neither moral nor patriotic, which would not have been entertained or felt by a mind more fresh in the exercise of its powers of discrimination. Perhaps no stronger illustration of this could be furnished, than by the apparently trifling circumstance of the text already quoted on the title-page. A mind differently constituted from that of our author would hardly have failed to perceive the singular unfitness of assuming the attitude of the unprincipled Antony, haranguing over the body of a man, who, however great he might have been in other respects, was certainly as unprincipled a politician as himself.

We are informed, that the "Life of Burr" has enjoyed a pretty extensive popularity; and, so far as the author may have benefited thereby, we are glad of it. But the reading public in the United States does not appear to us likely to be benefitted at all in the same proportion; and it is on this account, and from no ill will to the author, that we propose to treat his work. A lax custom of construing public conduct has often been considered as the fault of the people of this country. And it would go far towards establishing the truth of the charge, if those, who profess to notice and to scrutinize the character of literary works that appear among us, suffer such as this one to pass even in silence into the confidence of the community. During thirty years of the most eventful portion of our history, Aaron Burr acted no very undistinguished part in public affairs. At one moment he rose so high as nearly to touch the loftiest official seat which the people are called upon to fill; and at another he fell so low as to become isolated among his fellow-beings. How came this great change about? Mr. Davis tries to prove, that it was owing to persecution. We believe the cause was in the man. No

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example has yet occurred in the United States, half so striking as this, of the adequate punishment, by the popular voice, of unbridled, irregular, public ambition and private profligacy; and it is greatly to be wished, that its effect upon the aspiring youth of the future, as well as the grown-up gladiators of the present time, may not be weakened or broken by injudicious palliation, or the interposition of excessive moral obtuseness.

We mean, in the first place, to remark upon the singular inability or unwillingness of the author to call things by their right names, the effect of which in his present work often is, to describe some qualities of his hero, which deserve reprehension, exactly as if they did him honor. We need not go far for a striking example. We are told in the beginning, that Aaron Burr, when a child about four years of age, ran away from home, and was not found until the third or fourth day afterwards. Well! what merit or propriety was there in that, unless, indeed, the boy was so cruelly treated as to be in fear of his life? But Mr. Davis does not pretend that he had any such justification. According to him, the cause of his "departure" (that is the exact word) was "a *misunderstanding* with his preceptor." A *misunderstanding* between a child four years old, not yet versed in A, B, C, and his preceptor, who was probably pressing the said letters uncomfortably upon his attention! What became of the boy during the two or three days of his absence, we are not informed; but we suppose that in his case, as in that of most other wilful children, his stomach brought him to. We should, in our simplicity, have inferred from the story only that Burr was headstrong and passionate, if our author had not informed us, that "it indicated, at a tender age, that *fearlessness of mind* and determination to rely upon himself, which were characteristics stamped upon every subsequent act of his life." Verily we should never have thought it, if we had not been told so.

But to speak more in earnest, what shall be said of the moral acuteness of an author who begins a work by calling the reproof, which an instructor gives to a scholar, "an occasion of misunderstanding" between them, and the running away of the latter in a fit of passion, "a departure," and who finds, in such incidents, fearlessness of mind and a determination to self-reliance? A little of the discipline, which, though out of fashion in the present highly advanced

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condition of things, made many a useful citizen at that day, would, in our humble opinion, have gone far to correct such heroic tendencies, and, by doing so, might very possibly have saved the man from cherishing the errors of the boy. If we have any right notion of what fearlessness of mind and self-reliance are, we should go to look for them in that moral cultivation of riper years which produce the death of a Socrates, or the life of a Luther, and not in the passionate whimsies of an infant, or a boy. For it seems that the experiment of running away, already mentioned, was not the only one, that Burr made in early life. Mr. Davis shall tell us about the second in his own way.

"When about ten years old, Aaron evinced a desire to make a voyage to sea; and, with this object in view, ran away from his uncle Edwards and came to the city of New York. He entered on board an outward bound vessel as cabin boy. He was, however, pursued by his guardian, and his place of retreat discovered. Young Burr, one day, while busily employed, perceived his uncle coming down the wharf, and immediately ran up the shrouds and clambered to the topgallant-mast head. Here he remained, and peremptorily refused to come down, or be taken down, until all the preliminaries of a treaty of peace were agreed upon. *To the doctrine* of unconditional submission he never gave his assent."—Vol. I. p. 26.

It would have been better for him, say we, if he had. For he would not then have been the character in after life, which he proved to be. Unconditional submission to virtuous and considerate parents or guardians never injured the greatest patriots known in history, and would perhaps, in the present instance, have made Burr what he was not without it, a man of principle. But it would appear as if the grandson of Jonathan Edwards was destined to be a striking monument to after times of the abuse of the power of "the will." And he was moreover destined to have a biographer, who would record this abuse as if it was a virtue. Who ever heard before of using the language of diplomacy in the description of the conduct of a refractory boy? "Preliminaries of a treaty of peace," forsooth! Had his uncle Edwards thought as we do, the negotiation would not have been of many minutes, and would have ended by demanding a categorical answer. For when a youth is perched upon the top of a mast, we do not conceive him in the best possible

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situation to dissent from the doctrine of unconditional submission. Breakfast times and dinner times will come round, and make themselves forcibly remembered by growing boys, be their fearlessness of mind and self-reliance what they may. If Burr had been allowed to pass a little time in sober reflection upon this precise view of the case, we think it would have done him good, and saved a couple of very bad paragraphs in his biography.

Nothing more need be said, we trust, to prove the justice of our principal objection to the present work, a grievous deficiency in its moral tone. We can hardly expect, that the more difficult delineation of later life will be correct, when such enormous mistakes are made in describing the simple actions of youth. Had Mr. Davis laid his foundation well, had he traced in the uncorrected errors of the boy, as shown in the examples already cited, — in these cases of foolhardy contempt of wise and prudent but overkind counsellors, — the seeds of those passions which hurried the man into desperate and unprincipled enterprises, that marked his later years with disgrace, and caused him to descend to the grave a solitary being, unpitied and unmourned, we should on our part have had a much higher opinion of his own moral perspicacity, and have assumed a different tone towards his book. As it is, we simply fulfil a duty incumbent upon us. We hold many of the prevailing notions about education to be bad enough in all conscience ; but to tell the rising generation of American citizens, already not too diffident of the infallibility of their judgment, that disobedience at four years of age is a sign of greatness, passes a little beyond any thing it has been our fortune yet to meet with. Dogberry would call it " flat burglary as ever was committed."

Let us, however, dismiss the accessory, for the sake of trying the principal, and proceed to consider the character of Aaron Burr himself, as it comes out in the course of these volumes. The fearless and self-relying mind, which drove the boy of four years old upon the world in consequence of " a misunderstanding " with his tutor, and which sent him six years later up to the mast-head, there to practise diplomacy upon his guardian and protector, formed for itself in advanced life an estimate of the importance of the relative duties of man quite in unison with these specimens of its early career. There is consistency in perversion, if there is noth-

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ing else. We are told by Mr. Davis, without a comment or any indication of surprise, that he found his friend, when reflecting upon the course of his past life, far more tenacious of his *military* than of his professional, political, or moral character; the order in which the terms are used being, it is presumed, significant of the relative importance in which he esteemed them. Colonel Burr was doubtless justified in the conjecture, that he deserved more praise as a soldier than as any thing else. Perhaps he was right in estimating his law to be better than his politics, his politics to be better than his morals, and in saying nothing at all about his religion, which was in truth a cipher, if not a negative quantity. But we want to know what we are to think of a man, who is willing to come before the world, and claim praise of any kind whatsoever upon such recommendations? And what can we say of a biographer, who, though he only "comes to bury Cæsar, and not to praise him," entirely forgets to remark upon that mental obliquity in his hero, which places the duties of life in a ratio exactly the inverse of that which any ordinary moral code (not to speak here of the Christian doctrine) would have established? We censure Mr. Davis, not so much for exposing, as he does, so barely the nakedness of his hero, as for apparently being unconscious all the while that he is doing it.

Aaron Burr was doubtless a very remarkable man. Without being positively great, he might, nevertheless, had he lived in a more corrupt age, have made himself appear so. In thinking of him as he shows himself in the present work, we cannot help recurring to the words of Sallust, when he describes the character of Catiline; "Fuit magnâ vi animi, sed ingenio malo pravoque; ..... corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ supra quam cuique credibile est (this he proved in his march to Quebec with Arnold); animus audax, *subdolus*, varius, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus (this he manifested in his Mexican project); ardens in cupiditatibus: *satis eloquentiæ*, *sapientiæ parum*; vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat." We doubt most about the vast mind; but, after all, it may be as fair to infer, that it existed in the one case from the acknowledged fear of it entertained by Washington and Jefferson, as we certainly do in the other only from the same kind of apprehension, though in greater force, felt by

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Cicero and Cato. Neither of the men has left any positive traces of his intellectual power. Catiline's infamy is mainly recorded by the hands of the person who crushed him. It would not have injured Burr, if he had trusted his reputation entirely in the hands of Jefferson. For, much as he professes a conviction, that history must generally be false because in his particular case it has been inaccurate and unjust, the materials which he has himself provided with a view to rectify the alleged errors, go very little way to prove that they are so. We might go even further, and say, that they prove the principal charges against him to have been well founded. There never was an instance more clear to our perception, of a man condemned out of his own mouth. There never was a stronger case of the justice of the verdict of a contemporaneous generation. We do not mean to speak out of bounds. And, to show that we do not, we propose to devote a few pages to a general review of the character of Burr in the various relations of life, taking them precisely in the order in which he himself distributes them; the military man first of all, and the moral man the last.

Perhaps there is no class of great men of which the world has been more prolific, than of the class of military heroes. From the days of the fabulous Hercules down to those of him of San Jacinto, we have had almost in uninterrupted succession a race of martial characters. This would show two things, — the first, that military talent is not the most uncommon of the great qualities of man; the second, that it is that which is most generally called into play, because of some constant demand for its exercise among the human species. Strictly speaking, there is perhaps but one sort of warlike genius; and this unites powers of rapidly originating and combining ideas in the mind, with the energy necessary fully to carry them out in execution. But history shows, that men are not susceptible of rigid philosophical classification. We cannot regard them as machines pulled by wires in exactly defined directions. The mere ability to fight is a quality in which they are not superior to the brute creation, to a tiger or a bear. But the intellectual power, which guides it, and which makes the peculiar distinction of the human race, has manifested itself in examples of infinite variety and every diversity of character. Perhaps it may be maintained, that soldiers have nothing to do with moral questions, and that

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their character in war should not be decided by the admission into the scale of such a foreign element as the justice of the cause in which they fight. True or not true, we are not prepared to make the concession that this proposition would require of us. We must judge men from a fair construction of their motives as well as of their actions, and praise heroes more when they fight well in a good cause, than when they fight even better in a bad one. Captain Dalgetty is the type of perhaps the lowest order of military merit, — General Washington that of the highest; whilst Alexander, and Hannibal, and Cæsar, and Charles the Twelfth, and Napoleon, each of them have some distinctive characteristics to separate them from each other, which entitle them to a particular rank in a scale, the arrangement of which would be an agreeable amusement, provided that we had time and room enough to make it. But our present business is not with them, but with Aaron Burr, who aspires to stand in such excellent company. The question for us is, where we shall fix him, and it is one of no small difficulty. His biographer calls him one of the most extraordinary men of the age. We regard him as a very clever lieutenant-colonel of a regiment. Between these limits there is obviously an enormous distance, the reasons for establishing which, on our part, we will try to explain more at large.

When the difficulties between Great Britain and the United States, at that time colonies of the mother country, began to assume the aspect of an open rupture, only to be healed by an appeal to arms, Burr was a student at law, and about nineteen years of age. Mr. Davis says of him, that in the course of his reading he satisfied himself on which side of the dispute the right lay, and that he became in consequence a whig from conviction as well as feeling. We think his biographer has stretched a point a little here in his favor; for it is very certain that Burr, when in England, claimed to be a British subject, twenty years after the Revolution, and that even at a less mature period of his life, and in the midst of the dispute, the letter to Matthew Ogden, dated at Litchfield, August 17th, 1774, and printed in the first volume of the present work, so far from breathing any whisper about principles, shows nothing but the spirit of a boy, anxious to be in the midst of a row. In just such a spirit, Burr seems to have indulged the old propensity of running away from his guardian

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and friends, for the sake of joining the camp before Boston; and in the same spirit did he, disgusted with the tameness of that besieging and not very well organized camp, and in opposition to the earnest remonstrance of all his friends, throw himself at once into the almost desperate project of reaching Quebec through the forests of Maine, the execution of which was then intrusted to the direction of Benedict Arnold. That this act denoted great intrepidity on the part of a youth of twenty, we are willing to admit; but, at the same time, we see in it the seeds of that restless ambition, which, dissatisfied with the slow modes of gaining distinction in a train of deliberate and matured exertions, was perpetually, in him, seeking to take it by storm, *per fas*, if it was possible so to procure it, *aut per nefas*, if it could not be got otherwise so certainly or so soon.

The extraordinary privations suffered by the detachment under Arnold, which succeeded in making its way to Quebec, were endured by no one of its members with more cheerfulness and patience than by the stripling who had volunteered to join it. And this was one characteristic, which was remarked in Burr through life, and which went a great way to maintain for him the respect of those immediately around him. He was not one of the repining kind, who wear out the patience of their neighbours with their catalogue of complaints, but bore all his misfortunes like a man. When the party finally reached the Chaudière, and it became necessary to establish a communication with General Montgomery, Burr was the person selected for the task; and, though so young, he acquitted himself of the hazardous duty of penetrating a country, the inhabitants of which adhered to the British power, and spoke a different language from his, with prudence and perfect success. Upon his arrival at the General's head-quarters, he was immediately invited to assume a station near his person, in anticipation of the moment when he might be appointed an aid-de-camp. Burr thus became an actor in the unsuccessful assault upon Quebec; was present when Montgomery fell; and was the person who bore him upon his shoulders from the spot, when retreat became necessary. His conduct throughout this trying affair appears to have been marked with courage and with judgment. It established for him a high reputation at the time among the American troops, and undoubtedly deserved free

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and unqualified praise. We are not of those who would refuse to his memory the smallest tribute of honor, which he can be supposed to have deserved. And it gives us the more pleasure to do so in this instance, because we feel under no necessity of adding a syllable of qualification.

But, with the death of the commander-in-chief, all prospect of successful action in Canada vanished, and Burr was not one of those who could find in the quiet performance of duty a compensation for the want of more brilliant success in life. Without the consent of Arnold, who had succeeded to the command, and in spite of his prohibition, he left his companions to take care of themselves, and made the best of his way to the city of New York. The fame he had gained had come before him, and had prejudiced in his favor the mind of Washington, who received him at that place with great cordiality, and immediately gave him the same situation, near his own person, which Montgomery had promised him near his, before death had interfered to cut off his expectations. This new position was one of the best in the army; for it enabled the possessor, if he were inclined, not only to establish strong claims upon the confidence and affections of his superior, but also to lay a foundation broad and deep for a brilliant career of honor and service during after life. Hamilton was much indebted to it for his success. Why did Burr fail to improve it? We cannot tell the precise reason; but the fact is clear, that from this period may be dated the origin of the dishonor of his latter days. Six weeks only elapsed, before Burr expressed his disgust at his position, and requested of Hancock, then President of Congress, to procure him a transfer into some other service, or leave to retire. This transfer was obtained for him, and he left the family of Washington to join that of General Putnam. But, brief as the time had been, it had proved long enough to fix in the mind of the Commander-in-chief impressions of the character of his young aid, which remained ever after indelible, and which, by forbidding his voluntarily reposing a particle of confidence in his honesty, had a great effect in future, in shutting him out of the legitimate avenues for his ambition.

The reasons of the mutual dislike between Washington and Burr, so rapidly matured into a permanent separation, we do not know. The attempt made by our author to explain it

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is lamentably insufficient. We gather from it only, that Burr found himself without the confidence of the General in regard to his military movements, and hence was anxious as soon as possible to withdraw from the awkward position in which this circumstance placed him. But this statement does not explain why Washington refused that sort of confidence to Burr which he was in the habit of placing in others, nor the reasons for the mistrust of his moral integrity which he is well known always afterwards to have entertained. That great man was stern in his judgments upon right and wrong, and not easily moved to restore his confidence to those who had once by their own conduct incurred its forfeiture. Yet he did not form his opinions hastily or upon slight evidence. Neither could it have been a small thing which could, in the space of six short weeks, have entirely changed his feelings towards a young man like Aaron Burr, from those of friendly kindness and esteem to suspicion and dislike. But what that thing was, as it does not seem likely that we shall know, it is useless to waste time in fruitless and idle attempts to conjecture. The fact itself is significant enough.

Let us resume the review of Burr's military career. He served as aid-de-camp to General Putnam in the unfortunate action upon Long Island, and upon the subsequent evacuation of New York saved a brigade, which had been detained there too long, from falling into the hands of the British. These services earned for him a lieutenant-colonel's commission, and the virtual command of a regiment. He had a horse shot under him at the battle of Monmouth, and from that time until his retirement from the service, which happened in 1779, though not again in action, he appears to have persevered in the faithful and punctual performance of the duties incumbent upon a skilful and vigilant officer. But he could not control his impatience under the monotonous details of ordinary service. His resignation, made upon the partially well-founded plea of ill health, appears yet to have had no trifling connexion with soured feelings and disappointed expectations. His difference with General Washington naturally threw him among the officers disposed to resist the authority of the Commander-in-chief. He appears to have been a member of the Conway Cabal, and an ardent supporter of General Gates, whose successful campaign against Burgoyne made him for a time the object, around whom all

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the disaffected, and those dissatisfied with the slow and less brilliant progress of Washington, rallied, as about his rival. The result of the very brief struggle which took place is well known. Its effect upon Burr probably was to remove him still further than before from all prospect of rapid advancement as a soldier, and to incline him to look to some new line of action for success. His failing health then decided the question, and he became a lawyer. But his disappointment, in thus leaving a profession for which he considered himself eminently well qualified, was a severe one, and his feelings of hostility to the person whom he regarded as the true cause of it proportionately bitter. From the day of his resignation of his commission to the day of his death, he never failed to speak of Washington in terms of disparagement, to all those who were in any degree intimately acquainted with him. And it is not his fault, that his biographer has not communicated his dissatisfaction to the world. Luckily as we think, for him, Mr. Davis has had the good sense to decline making a contrast, the precise nature of which Burr could perhaps realize as little, as he could in how small a degree the capacity of Washington, as a mere martinet, or manslayer, enters as an element into the sublimity of character which sheltered the country from feeling the poisonous breath of such military heroes as himself.

From the preceding recapitulation of the incidents in Burr's military life, it now only remains to pronounce upon the justice of the claim made for him to high rank in this department. We must confess, we do not regard it as particularly strong. If we allow to him energy, courage, and cheerfulness under privation, and admit his merit as a good disciplinarian and vigilant officer, we make him a good soldier it is true, but yet not a very great man. Captain Dalgetty was all of this, and yet he did not pretend to put himself on a level with the Lion of the North. The qualities aforementioned do credit to a subaltern, but we require something more from a general-in-chief. They imply nothing of the expanded views, the skilful combinations, and the brilliant original conceptions, which give to the genuine military heroes of history their distinguishing characteristic. But it has been maintained for Burr, that he did in fact possess many of these traits, but that he was denied opportunities for fully developing them in action. This may be so ; but the world

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must judge from what it sees, and can give credit for no quality which has not appeared. No human art can rectify the error which grows out of such a misfortune. But we may venture to doubt, when taking a general view of his character, whether greatness of mind could ever have been justly ascribed to Burr, in any sense of the term. Men may become great by the force of favorable opportunities for displaying their qualities to the world, or they may make those opportunities for themselves. But in either case the powers must exist, and must be put in action, in order that the world may be enabled to form its judgment. Colonel Burr was quite as well situated to make his way as any of his fellow-officers of the revolutionary war. His early campaign in Canada gave him a positive advantage over most of them, the subsequent loss of which is a fact, that goes far to invalidate the soundness of the estimate his friends put upon him. We are therefore obliged to differ from Mr. Davis in this particular, that we cannot call Burr "one of the greatest and most extraordinary men of the age," nor agree, that "his genius, his talents, his *chivalry*, his intrepidity of character, his disinterestedness, and his generosity," (being the summary and very unphilosophical enumeration, made by the author, of his virtues,) constitute the elements of a real hero. The moral characteristic, which gives the crowning merit, is confessedly wanting. We cannot call Mr. Burr great in any sense, most emphatically not in that which proceeds from good.

Of General Montgomery we know not much. His early death prevented him from filling that conspicuous station upon the theatre of American affairs, which he might otherwise have occupied. But one very short letter of his, published in the present work, gives us a tempting opportunity to illustrate what it is, that makes the world readily decide some men to be great, even when they have done very little, while it condemns others, who make much bolder claims upon its good opinion. When Montgomery was first called into active service, the Continental Congress placed him second in the list of Brigadiers-general; since the first or senior commission, from certain prudential motives connected with State jealousies, which in this country have always very much interfered with the nomination of the most capable men to office, had been reserved for a Massachusetts man. To this proceeding in the first instance, no junior officer could

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reasonably have objected. But, when the individual originally selected as first brigadier, General Pomroy, was found unwilling to take this post, the claim of Montgomery to succeed to him was, according to military notions, perfect. Congress however did not favor it; but, acting under the same impulse which directed the first nomination, they conferred upon General Thomas, originally made the sixth in the list, the vacant situation. This advancement of a junior officer over his head might very naturally have been expected to prove offensive to a man like Montgomery, not himself a native American, and who, having been educated in the European schools of military service, would of course have been supposed to entertain their rigid notions of military honor. The Congress, conscious of the offence they might be likely to give by their proceeding, directed James Duane, a member of the body then representing New York, to write to that officer, and explain away the matter as well as he could. How this original letter, together with the copy of the answer indorsed upon it in the handwriting of the General, came into the possession of Mr. Burr, we are not informed. But Mr. Davis has done the public a favor by inserting that answer in the present work, where it shines among the rest of the letters like a diamond in a coal mine. We transfer it entire.

"GENERAL MONTGOMERY'S ANSWER TO JAMES DUANE.

"DEAR SIR, — I have been honored with your letter of the 21st instant. My acknowledgments are due for the attention shown me by the Congress.

"I submit with great cheerfulness to any regulation they in their prudence shall judge expedient. Laying aside the punctilio of the *soldier*, I shall endeavour to discharge my duty to society, considering myself as the *citizen*, reduced to the melancholy necessity of taking up arms for the public safety.

"I am, &c."

This was the true spirit which effected the independence of the colonies, and not the restless and selfish passion which struggled in the bosom of Burr and the rest of his military associates of his own stamp. We turn from the view of such disinterestedness, with as perfect a consciousness that the possessor of it had the elements of greatness in him, as if he had proved the fact by more than one brief and glorious, though ultimately unsuccessful campaign. But where do we

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see any similar indication in the fourscore years, during which Aaron Burr was enjoying an opportunity in this world to furnish it? We turn over the pages of the four volumes now before us in vain. They might as well have been a blank. The noble and heroic spirit is not there; it never could have been in the man. What absurdity, then, to pretend to designate him as great! Had Montgomery lived, the world might have witnessed the career of a hero. Burr did live, and proved to be no more than an adventurer.

The next stage in the career of Mr. Burr, which we are to consider, is that in which he figured as a lawyer. And here we shall be released from any very extended notice of our own, by quoting some long passages from the Life now before us. Mr. Davis appears to have requested some legal friend to aid him with his views in this department of his subject; and that person, whoever he may be, for his name is not mentioned, has shown, in his brief sketch, a power of delineating character which throws that of the biographer himself far into the shade. The man stands before us exactly as we should suppose that he might have done when alive.

"Colonel Burr brought to that study (the law) a classic education as complete as could, at that time, be acquired in our country; and to this was added a knowledge of the world, perhaps nowhere better taught than in the camp, as well as a firmness and *hardihood of character which military life usually confers*, and which is indispensable to the success of the forensic lawyer. He was connected in the family circle with two eminent jurists, who were at hand to stimulate his young ambition, and to pour, in an almost perpetual stream, legal knowledge into his mind by conversation and by epistolary correspondence.

"It has been said, 'that Colonel Burr was not a deep-read lawyer; that he showed himself abundantly conversant with the general knowledge of the profession, and that he was skilful in suggesting doubts and questions; but that he exhibited no indications of a fondness for the science, nor of researches into its abstruse doctrines; that he seemed, indeed, to hold it and its administration in slight estimation. The best definition of law, he said, was "*whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained.*" This sarcasm was intended full as much for the courts as for the law administered by them.'

"If Colonel Burr may have been surpassed in legal erudi-

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tion, he possessed other qualifications for successful practice at the bar, which were seldom equalled. He prepared his trials with an industry and forethought that were most surprising. He spared no labor or expense in attaining every piece of evidence, that would be useful in his attacks, or guard him against his antagonist. He was absolutely indefatigable in the conduct of his suits. 'He pursued (says a legal friend) the opposite party with notices, and motions, and applications, and appeals, and re-arguments, never despairing himself, nor allowing to his adversary confidence, nor comfort, nor repose. Always vigilant and always urgent, until a proposition for compromise or a negotiation between the parties ensued. "Now move slow (he would say); never negotiate in a hurry." I remember a remark he made on this subject, which appeared to be original and wise. There is a saying, "Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day." "This is a maxim," said he, "for sluggards." A better reading of the maxim is, "Never do to-day what you can as well do to-morrow; because something may occur to make you regret your premature action."'

"'I was struck,' says the same friend, 'in his legal practice, with that tendency to mystery, which was so remarkable in his conduct in other respects. He delighted in surprising his opponents, and in laying, as it were, ambuscades for them. A suit, in which I was not counsel, but which has since passed professionally under my observation, will illustrate this point in his practice. It was an ejectment suit, brought by him to recover a valuable tenement in the lower part of the city, and in which it was supposed, by the able lawyers retained on the part of the defendant, that the only question would be on the construction of the will. On the trial they were surprised to find the whole force of the plaintiff's case brought against the authenticity of an ancient deed, forming a link in their title, and of which, as it had never been questioned nor suspected, they had prepared merely formal proof; and a verdict of the jury, obtained by a sort of *coup-de-main*, pronounced the deed a forgery. Two tribunals have subsequently established the deed as authentic, but the plaintiff lived and died in the possession of the land in consequence of the verdict.'

"He showed nice discrimination in his selection of his professional assistants. When learning was required, he selected the most erudite. If political influence could be suspected of having effect, he chose his lawyers to meet or *improve* the supposed prejudice or predilection. Eloquence was bought, when it was wanted; and the cheaper substitute of brow-beating and vehemence used, when they were equivalent or superior. In nothing did he show greater skill than in his measurement and

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application of his agents ; and it was *amusing* to hear his cool discussion of the obstacles of prejudice, or ignorance, or interest, or political feeling, to be encountered in various tribunals, and of the appropriate remedies and antidotes to be employed, and by what persons they should be applied." — Vol. II. pp. 14 – 16.

We do not exactly understand whether it is the biographer or his friend, who found it so *amusing* to listen to Burr, when describing the uses to which the follies and the weakness incident to human nature can be put, in perverting justice by the means of law. Although it sounds like Mr. Davis in the rest of the book, we will not hold him accountable for the language without more positive evidence. But we must say, that our feelings in a like situation would have prompted the use of a very different epithet. Aaron Burr manifestly regarded the truth and right of his causes as being of as little consequence to his success in gaining them, as he did the moral portion, in making up an estimate of his own character. He was a disciple of that school of his profession, not altogether unknown anywhere, which dispenses lawyers from the necessity of a conscience. Throughout the preceding sketch, the predominating feature of his character will be found to have been craft ; nowhere more distinctly visible than in his remarkable inversion of the old maxim therein quoted, — a maxim, it should be observed, not less valuable for the honesty of dealing which it inculcates, than for its prudential advice. For the man who puts off paying a debt to-day, because he may do it equally well to-morrow, will be very likely to finish by not paying it at all ; while he who omits to close a bargain simply from his unwillingness to cut himself off from the prospect of advantage by delay, shows that he is only watching for chances to get the better of his neighbour. The root of the matter, in both cases, is selfish cunning ; — the spring which moved Burr most frequently through life. It was this, which made him acute in trifles, which impelled him to the study of all flaws in title-deeds, and defects of form in legal process ; to the cultivation of technical niceties, and of the innumerable devices by which fictitious issues may be interposed before the true ones. If we needed evidence to prove this beyond the curious anecdote already furnished, we should only have to open the record of his trial at Richmond for treason, in the whole of which not a page will be found of

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genuine defence on his part, upon the true question of guilty or not guilty. The mode in which his case was managed is redolent of the foxy nature of the man; now doubling upon his opponent, and now taking earth under the passions of the judge. It was not in Aaron Burr to be open and noble in his action anywhere, and certainly not in law. The power to make that profession an instrument for chicane, for infinite vexation to honest and peaceable men, for shocking oppression of the poor, the simple, or the weak, constitutes the most serious of the evils unavoidably connected with the administration of justice in all countries; and, when we find any person to have misused naturally strong powers of mind to such ends, we shall certainly never award to him any title indicating greatness, unless he is to be made an example of that species of greatness typified by Milton in the person of Belial, in Pandemonium;

> "He seemed
> For dignity composed and high exploit.
> But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
> Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
> The better reason, to perplex and dash
> Maturest counsels; *for his thoughts were low;*
> To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
> Timorous and slothful."

We pass, without further ceremony, to the political life of our hero. The transition from law to politics is in this country exceedingly easy, particularly to that large class of persons in whom ambition has more force than the love of virtue. To them the practice of the profession proves eminently useful, as a school of exercise, preparatory to entering the other department of action. It does for many, what it did for Burr; it at once sharpens their reasoning faculties, exercises their rhetorical powers, and dulls the moral sense. Of course we shall here be understood as limiting the application of our remark very much within the circle of all those who practise that profession, which, when pursued in the true spirit, yields to none in the nobleness of the results which it produces. We mean at this time to treat only of those who misuse it, and who leave it only to do worse in a still nobler field. We speak of those, who, like Burr, learn from law to make the duty to self precede that to God, or to their neighbour, and who learn nothing else.

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But, when entering upon this branch of our subject, we are conscious that we take up the most difficult part of our task. The passions, which were so deeply agitated during the whole period in which Burr was an actor in public life, have not been laid asleep since he ceased to be so. Parties exist in the community now, as they did then; and these are not indifferent at this time to any strictures, however honestly or fairly expressed, that bear upon acts in which they boast they trace the origin of their being. In an attempt to make such, which becomes almost unavoidable when treating of a work like the one before us, we are sensible we expose ourselves at every step to charges of partiality or prejudice, exactly as we approve, or disapprove, those particular views of events, which have become established points of faith among the orthodox in any political church. But the knowledge of the danger we run should rather inspire caution in examining ourselves before we form our judgments, than fear to express them to the world, when once deliberately formed. We desire to know no parties, excepting in so far as they are facts. We wish to recognise no merit in them, but that of moral right or wrong. We acknowledge no public men in our history to have been absolutely perfect, and no associations of men to be infallible. But whether they rally under one ensign or another, whether they adopt this or that particular watch-word, we hope to be equally ready in bearing testimony to the virtues, which we believe to have marked their progress, and in censuring the vices which have disgraced it.

Aaron Burr came into public life about the time of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. He adopted the principles of the popular party in New York; and, when that instrument was submitted to the consideration of the people for acceptance or rejection, he ranged himself among the large number of those who disapproved of its provisions. Although it was finally adopted, yet the party which had rallied in opposition showed itself formidable in point both of numbers and character; and embracing, as it probably did, a majority of all the citizens who had heartily approved of the Revolution, had roots in the popular feeling which have continued to produce important results even to the present day. Mr. Davis has analyzed the elements of the original parties in a very clear manner, and so as to show how well versed he is in that division of his subject. But,

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although they were rapidly acquiring a definite shape after the Constitution had presented the first nucleus around which to form themselves, they did not prevent the occurrence of the singular spectacle in the Senate of the United States, of the representatives of the parties, which were soon after to be diametrically opposed to each other, sitting side by side, in the persons of Aaron Burr and Rufus King, as elected by a common constituency in New York. A state of things like this could not be expected to last long. But the first positive traces of the rapid separation in opinion that took place, which we find in Mr. Davis's book, indicate some peculiarities in the character of Mr. Burr which deserve a few moments' consideration.

George Clinton, who was the governor of the State at the time in question, had been among the most decided of the opponents of the Constitution in New York; and, even after its adoption, continued, in the administration of his office, to favor that class of his fellow-citizens, who had acted with him upon that occasion. The circumstance very naturally excited great dissatisfaction among those who had been friendly to the measure; and they soon turned their attention to devise means by which to manifest their feelings at the polls. John Jay was accordingly brought forward as their candidate at the general election in 1792, in opposition to Mr. Clinton; and, such was the strength of the public confidence in his personal character, and such the force which the successful commencement of the new form of government, that had been advocated by them, had given to their party, that they numbered a majority of all the votes given in. But so very close did the contest prove, that the existence of that majority depended upon the admission of the votes of the County of Otsego, against which an argument was raised on account of certain errors of form in making up the return. The question, who was governor, was made to depend on the question whether there was any legally qualified sheriff in Otsego. Here was a fine opening for the talents of Aaron Burr, who at once took the lead in denying the validity of the votes, whilst Rufus King argued as strenuously in their favor. The friends of the incumbent had the control of the return; and they accordingly declared George Clinton to be the governor elect, by a majority of one hundred and eight votes, without counting those given in the County of Otsego. And Aaron

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Burr furnished the papers, upon which they rested the justification of their act before the world. Mr. Davis has again brought them forward in his present work, and endeavoured to sustain them by proving a concurrence in the reasoning on the part of many distinguished lawyers, out of as well as within the limits of the State.

But when we examine the case with that coolness, which the lapse of time ought, in this instance, to secure, we can hardly fail to perceive, that, under the color of law, substantial violence was done to the most important principle established as the basis of government in America. There was no pretence, that the votes actually rejected were not honestly and legitimately given, and that the rejection of them was not, in fact, making the voice of the minority overrule that of the majority. Yet this very result was brought about by the act of that party, which always has the most to lose from the weakening of the maxim establishing the sway of the greater number; an act aided and abetted by Mr. Burr, who ought, as their representative, to have given them better advice. The voice of the majority of citizens, honestly and regularly expressed, has been universally acknowledged as the sovereign power in nearly all the States. Forms have been established as a necessary incident to the main object of securing that expression in a fair and satisfactory shape, and not with any design of overruling it. When, therefore, any associated number of men seek to get rid of the decision of the majority of their fellow-citizens, upon points which that majority has a clear and acknowledged right to decide, they are undermining the foundation of the fabric, upon which they themselves expect to stand. The healthy action of our system of State and National governments depends upon the determination of those who live under it to abide by the laws which they have agreed upon as the rules for their action. Any attempt then to get rid of the spirit in which they were drawn, by a mere quibble upon the letter, will necessarily weaken the confidence which ought to exist in the sincerity and fair dealing in which they were made. A successful trick, on one side, produces an inclination to counteract its force by a trick on the opposite side; and the continuance in resorting to them, which may thus be bred, to the utter neglect of all true public interests, originally intended to be protected, inevitably must, in the end,

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overturn the whole system, of which it is so great an abuse. That Mr. Burr should have been the first person in the United States to stand forth in defence of such an act, the consequences of justifying which he could not fail to understand, is an important fact for all those to consider, who, in their hurry to secure a temporary party advantage, may feel tempted to resort to similar contrivances.

But, although this is believed to have been the first instance of any attempt to set aside the popular will, it has not been the last. The experiment has been frequently tried, and by almost every party in turn. Luckily for the stability of our institutions, we have never yet seen a case, in which it has not failed of the object intended in a most signal manner. The people have refused to part with an atom of their authority; and, with a jealousy that is, on the whole, commendable, even when it is, as it often has been, somewhat in excess, have generally withdrawn their confidence from those, in whom any design upon it has been even suspected. In the very case which we now consider, such was the public feeling of the nature of the outrage committed upon the electoral franchise, that George Clinton, who had suffered himself to be made the instrument in effecting it, and who had always, before that time, enjoyed great popularity, was, at the next election, left in a decided minority; and Mr. Jay, who had been set aside, together with the Federal party which he represented, was brought into power by such an expression of the public will as nobody could venture to mistake. Such has generally been the result in similar cases since, so far as our experience has gone. And such, it is to be hoped, it may continue to be. For, however incorrectly the majority may occasionally judge, — and we are not of those who regard it as infallible, — the way to rectify their errors is not to deny or pervert the legitimate expression of their will. It is for such statesmen as Colonel Burr was, to prefer form to substance, and, while professing the profoundest submission to the popular will, to devise schemes to get rid of it, when it tells against himself. The act only goes to make an item in his account with posterity, although, even in his lifetime, he had to thank the long period of his term as a Senator of the United States for shelter from the storm which he had raised. For the rest, his arguments, which remain as justifications of the transaction, are exactly such

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as a party-leader among us will always be ready to employ, and such as his party will be glad to get, when it has determined to do a violent act which needs some palliation before the public; but they are also such, as even his own generation will never respect him for, and those which come after him will unequivocally condemn.

Of the services of Mr. Burr as a senator, his biographer is not able to record any thing material. He was an active member of the opposition, which had formed itself in Congress, to the administration of General Washington, and hence confined himself to the performance of the duty of merely interposing negatives. Mr. Davis tells us, he defeated a bill to increase the standing army, by taking advantage of a form. He opposed the nomination of Judge Jay as the minister to Great Britain, and the ratification of the treaty which was the result of that mission. But we do not find that he contributed any thing positively valuable to the good government of the country. The most singular incident in his career in this capacity was, that, by his diligence in studying and making extracts from the papers in the Department of State, he roused the suspicions of President Washington to so great a degree, as that he put a stop to his further progress by a peremptory prohibition;—a fact which borrows greater importance from the subsequent opinion expressed of him by the Chief Magistrate, when presented to his consideration as a fit candidate for the mission to France. As the leading members of the Federal party were generally regarded as unlikely to recommend themselves to the existing government in that country, on account of the opinions they held respecting the Revolution then in full course there, the President determined to select his minister from the party in opposition to his administration, that viewed the same series of events with a less severe eye. The choice of the individual, however, he expressed himself willing to leave to the decision of the members of that party then in Congress. They accordingly named to him Mr. Madison or Mr. Burr. The first of the two refused to go, and was therefore put out of the question. But the President declined appointing the other gentleman upon the ground, explicitly avowed, of an entire want of confidence in his integrity. And finally Mr. Monroe was sent. Since the foundation of the government, no similar censure is believed to

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have ever been openly placed upon any other individual named as a candidate for high official station, inasmuch as it implies the absence of moral qualities of the most obvious and indispensable necessity to the safety of the national interests. That the President had reasons, satisfactory to his own mind, for thus forming an opinion so extraordinarily severe, we cannot doubt for a moment. But, in the absence of all information, it would be more curious than useful to prosecute any inquiry into the nature of those reasons, or their connexion with the brief period, so many years before, when Burr served as an aid-de-camp to him in New York during the war of the Revolution. It is also worthy of observation, that Mr. Jefferson, when subsequently made President, as the representative of the very party which had recommended Burr to Washington, assigned substantially the same reason for refusing an application, then made in his favor, for a similar situation, although he did it in a more private manner. A judgment thus formed by the heads of both the parties which have divided the country, each in turn, must be regarded as no small testimony to the discredit of our hero.

But neither Mr. Jefferson, nor the party which supported him, reflected upon this want of integrity in Mr. Burr previously to the event of the Presidential election in 1800. And they then felt sufficiently grateful to him for the decided part he took in their favor, to award to him their votes for the second office in their gift. Mr. Davis claims for him the merit of deciding the result of the vote in the city of New York, which secured the control of the legislature, and through that of the Electors, of the State ; and without these it is clear, that Mr. Jefferson must have failed to obtain the requisite majority. We think the claim justly grounded, and admitted even by Mr. Jefferson himself. Indeed we must go the length of conceding, that the author has proved some inconsistency in the conduct and opinions of that gentleman respecting Burr at different periods. But they are not greater than must frequently happen with sanguine party men, who overlook, in the moment of a critical struggle, defects in the moral conduct or character of those with whom they act, which they see plainly enough, and condemn sincerely, after it is over. Mr. Jefferson admits, that he made some exertions to procure for Burr the unanimous vote of the Electors of his own State for Vice-President, and that he

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did this from a sense of the services rendered by that gentleman to the common cause in New York. It would have been more prudent on his part, had he then felt that distrust which he expressed of Burr to Mr. Madison at an earlier date, to have suffered matters to take their course. For the omission of a single Elector in Virginia to vote for Mr. Burr would have prevented the occurrence of an event, which, as it was, exceedingly hazarded his own ultimate success. But, when he did exert himself in the manner he describes, and still more, when he wrote the letter published by Mr. Davis, in which he speaks of Burr as having been on his list from which to select his cabinet, we think it is clear he had forgotten that he ever thought him a doubtful character. He had occasions, very soon after, to revive and confirm his old impressions, in the manner we now propose to consider.

It will be recollected by all our readers, that, according to the provisions of the second article of the Constitution, as it originally stood, the Electors, chosen for the purpose of voting for President and Vice-President, were directed simply to ballot for two persons, of whom one should not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves, without designating which of the two was the person to fill either office. This point was only settled when all the votes came to be counted by the President of the Senate, who was then to declare that person to be the President, who should be found to have the greatest number of votes, provided that number was equal to a majority of the Electors appointed to vote. The person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors, after the choice of President, was declared in the same manner to be Vice-President. But if two persons, having a majority of all the Electoral votes, were found to possess an equal number, then the decision between them, which should be President, devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States ; and if the same was the case with the two highest after the choice of President, then the Senate, voting by numbers, was to decide which of them should be Vice-President.

Perhaps no stronger case than this was ever presented, of the difficulty of foreseeing the practical effect even of those laws which, in theory, have been most deliberately matured. At first examination, nothing appears more simple

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and easy of execution, than the choice of President by the preceding provisions; whereas, in point of fact, nothing could have been imagined, in its operation, less likely to recommend itself to the habits and feelings of our people. In the first place, a moderation, amounting almost to indifference, appears to have been presupposed in them, as to who should be the Chief Magistrate among a number to be voted for; and, in the second, a discretion, as to the choice, was implied to exist in the Electors, which all parties in the Union have always united in their earnestness to deny. The fact was entirely overlooked, that, in a free, elective government, no two persons ever enjoy exactly the same degree of the popular favor; and that the warmth, with which each individual candidate is advocated by his immediate supporters, becomes so great, as not to admit of being easily cooled or transferred to another, at the simple word of the law. Hence, when two persons received the votes of a party for President and Vice-President, this act could not be done without exciting some feeling of preference for one of those persons to fill the first office over the other; and this feeling would not be immediately quieted or forgotten, if the casual vote of some one or more of the Electors chanced to give the preponderance to that individual whom they did not prefer. But the worst feature of all was, that, by leaving it doubtful who was the person intended to be President, an opportunity was afforded to any, who might find motives, public or private, to such a course, to make use of the literal sense of the rule to destroy its spirit; to press the intended Vice-President into the place of the President, when the popular voice was unequivocally in favor of another individual for the latter situation.

The election of 1800 appears to have furnished the first occasion for observing all the principal defects of the law disclosed at once. The struggle between the two great parties which divided the nation, was not the only one which it involved. There was a subordinate contest going on in the ranks of the Federal party itself, which went quite as far as the principal one, and the decision of which, in fact, decided the other. The object of this subordinate contest was, to avail of the provision of the Constitution already cited, in such a manner as to procure for Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, an equal, if not superior, number of the

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votes of the Federal Electors, to that given to Mr. John Adams, who was then President, and who was generally regarded as the true competitor of Mr. Jefferson for the office. To gain this end was the object avowed in the celebrated pamphlet, written by Mr. Alexander Hamilton, against the character and conduct of Mr. Adams, and originally designed to operate upon the Electors, particularly those who were expected to be chosen in South Carolina, the native State of Mr. Pinckney. But, by some underhand means, which Mr. Davis does not explain, Mr. Burr was enabled to procure large extracts from the pamphlet before the moment fixed upon by the author for publication, and in time to make the Federal party pay the penalty which was to have been inflicted only upon its ostensible head. These extracts filled the newspapers ; and as they manifested the existence of an incurable schism in the Federal ranks, and an entire absence of mutual confidence, at the very moment of the popular election, when that confidence was most wanted, it cannot be wondered at, that the two doubtful States, New York and South Carolina, instead of sanctioning the scheme by which Mr. Pinckney was to be made President over Mr. Adams, preferred to abandon both, and vote for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr.

But, so warm had been the contest, and so doubtful the result, that all the Electors, chosen by the democratic party, in their fear of the loss of a single vote for either of their own candidates, voted equally for both ; and thus another embarrassment arose in the place of the one that had just terminated. The result of the election by Electors had proved decisive of the overthrow of the Federal party as such, but it did not establish, with equal clearness, the victory of their opponents. The equality of votes between their two candidates left the question, which of them was to be President, still unsettled ; and, what was worse, threw the decision of it into the hands of the House of Representatives, where a Federal majority still prevailed. Thus two opportunities occurred, during the election, of making an unwise use of the provision of the Constitution for the choice of the Chief Magistrate. The first happened at the Electoral election, in the endeavour to run Mr. Pinckney over the head of Mr. Adams, when a large majority of the Federalists had never thought of the former in any other light than as a candidate

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for the Vice-Presidency ; and the second took place in the House of Representatives, when the wish, on the part of the Federalists, to defeat Mr. Jefferson, tempted them to take up the support of Mr. Burr.

We are not sure, that the time has yet arrived in which to go very fully into an examination of the details of this, the most important election that ever took place under the present form of our government. But inasmuch as our author has evidently intended to create impressions in the public mind, which we believe not to be just, in regard to this matter, we will take the liberty of counteracting their effect, as far as we may, by a calm review of the principal points which are involved in it. While on the one hand Mr. Davis broadly insinuates, that Mr. Jefferson procured his own election by corruption, it will also be recollected, that Mr. Jefferson himself is not sparing of similar denunciations against the conduct of Mr. Burr. Probably there are no two men of our revolutionary times, who have left more clearly defined outlines of themselves to posterity, than the two gentlemen whose characters are in this transaction thus unceremoniously condemned ; and, as we happen to believe that the charges are equally incapable of being substantiated against either, we are glad to seize the occasion for explaining our reasons to justify this belief.

It is perfectly well known, that, according to the organization of the House in this election, the Federalists, when voting by States, were strong enough to prevent the possibility of a choice without their consent, although they were not able to make that choice themselves. As a consequence, the decision of the event in favor of one or the other candidate, depended upon two arrangements. Either a portion of the most lukewarm of the republicans must have voted with the Federal party in favor of Mr. Burr, only three or four of whom would have been necessary to elect him ; or a portion of the Federalists, not greater in number, were called upon to recede from their support of that gentleman, and thus permit the election of Mr. Jefferson. It is manifest from this, that any very positive control over the result rested in very few hands, and that among those few, if anywhere, must the charge of corruption, if it is well founded, be made to rest. Now Mr. Davis insinuates very strongly his suspicions of the motives, under which all of the deciding votes

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were given, as well those of the lukewarm Republicans, who as it appears afterwards received appointments to office under Mr. Jefferson, as those made in blank by the Federalists, which ultimately effected his election ; and, to justify his suspicions, he publishes certain depositions made by the actors in the scene, particularly General Samuel Smith and Mr. Bayard, intended to establish the terms of the negotiation made between the parties prior to the decision.

The fact is unquestionable, that the individuals who gave the deciding votes in the delegations from the States of Maryland, New Jersey, and New York, were appointed to office by Mr. Jefferson, in the course of his administration ; but before we go on to draw uncharitable conclusions from it, perhaps we ought to reflect upon the principles by which those votes should be tried. The question presented for decision was a simple one enough. It was, whether the person whom the people had intended to make President should be elected, or whether another person, who had never been thought of by them for that office, should be substituted in his room. The Republican votes given in the House of Representatives for the purpose of carrying into effect the voice of the people by electing Mr. Jefferson, appear therefore to have been offered in a perfectly natural and consistent way, and require in themselves no apology whatsoever. It is only the circumstance of a subsequent appointment to office, which throws suspicion upon an act, which could in no other manner have been considered otherwise than perfectly proper. But that appointment, in order to have any bearing upon the subject, should be shown to have been a consideration weighing in the mind of the voter at the time his vote was given, and to have induced him to give it in a manner different from that, which his judgment and his conscience, when perfectly unbiassed, would have approved. We have never seen a particle of proof, that the gentlemen concerned had ever received from Mr. Jefferson, or any of his friends, either directly or indirectly, any intimation of benefit to accrue to themselves from the vote they might give for him. And we should hardly deem it consistent with political justice, that the mere act should be regarded as having ever after disqualified the parties from an equal right with the rest of their fellow-citizens, to serve in any public capacity for which they might be supposed properly fitted. In order to believe a

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corrupt motive at the bottom of their conduct, it is necessary to maintain, that they really and truly regarded Aaron Burr as the safer statesman and better man, and the people as wishing his success. But if they had done so, and had voted for Mr. Burr in consequence, thereby making him the President, how much stronger would have been the ground for suspecting their motives. An appointment to office under those circumstances, would then have carried great reason for uncharitable surmise, which it does not appear to us to do now. We do not believe one single person, then in Congress, of any party, considered Mr. Burr in any light more honest or respectable than Mr. Jefferson; nor can we imagine, that the latter had any reason to offer, even to the most wavering members of his own party, additional inducements beyond those which already existed clearly and strongly, to impel them to the performance of their duty. Had the contest been of another kind, and between persons holding a different relative place in the public esteem, there might have been more reason for hesitation; but, as it was, and considering the exact relation which the candidates bore to each other in the public mind, we more wonder, that there could have been a doubt about it, than that it was settled as it was. The election of Mr. Burr would have been a conclusion, which, from its far more necessary implication of the characters of those engaged in it, would have been deeply to be regretted. We rejoice that it was otherwise, not from any feeling of favor between the persons, but from the single consideration, that, in the actual termination of this hazardous trial, the Constitution of the United States was in form and spirit fully preserved.

It being so clearly understood, that Mr. Jefferson was the person whom a majority of the people really intended to be President, we have always regarded as indiscreet the attempt made by the Federalists in the House to defeat his election. But it cannot be denied, that their action was strictly within the letter, if it did not conform in the spirit, of the constitutional provision. An ordinary construction of the same would even justify the exercise of a sound discretion in the selection of an individual with a view to other qualifications than that of the mere possession of a greater number of votes. The question, however, in the present instance was, whether any such qualifications actually existed in Mr. Burr. We, at this day, think not. But a majority of the Federal

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party in the House of Representatives at the time thought otherwise ; and, so far as we know, their belief was earnest and sincere. Most of them acted under habitual apprehensions of the evil consequences likely to flow from Mr. Jefferson's access to power. We see, at every step, the alarm which pervaded their bosoms. They trembled, and not entirely without color of reason, for the fate of the Judiciary, of the National Debt, of the Navy ; and of the official incumbents throughout the Union. And, in the anxiety to save these from the hands of an avowed enemy, they did not scan very narrowly those into which they were inclined to trust them. Still all the inducements under which they acted were public and not personal. They had little communication with Mr. Burr himself, who appears to have kept himself retired and uncommitted. And many of them consented to the delay of the decision, which always continued in their hands, only that they might procure some further assurances to quiet their minds respecting the points of public policy, about which they were uneasy.

That they did in fact obtain, very indirectly, and in a reluctant manner, some assurances of the kind desired from the opposite party, is we think clearly shown by the depositions of Messrs. Smith and Bayard, notwithstanding the denial of Mr. Jefferson himself. And perhaps to these it may be owing, that a very material and important variation in the public language of the latter gentleman on some of the subjects in question, from what it had before been, took place during his presidency. His tone respecting the public debt created by the pending system became less fierce, while in action he did nothing to shake its credit, and, with regard to the other institutions in question, he limited himself to advocating trifling modifications in their form. His administration passed away without realizing to the public the tremendous evils which were prophesied as likely to follow from it. Perhaps the very existence of those predictions had some effect in preventing their verification. Mr. Jefferson was a bold destroyer in theory, but timid when he came to practise. Devotedly attached to his notions of government, which underwent much modification in the different stages of his career, he was yet unwilling to hazard any very serious trial of their efficacy, that might have carried with it a danger of social disorganization. He was content to thunder against

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the Supreme Court and Chief Justice Marshall, without ever striking at the foundation of the tribunal, and to claim the right of removing Federalists from office, without carrying it into extensive execution. If we look back and compare his administration with the principles upon which he was brought into power, we shall be disposed to call it essentially conservative; for which character it may nevertheless have been somewhat indebted to the conscientious forbearance of opposition on the part of his enemies, to which he owed his election. Be this, however, as it may, it did not justify the extravagant apprehensions which had been formed of it, nor the violence proposed as a means of defeating it. The Federalists committed an error in imagining that they could serve any great public interest, to which they were attached, by the method of action which they adopted. But their error appears to have arisen from no corrupt motive, or selfish consideration. It was of that kind, which parties are often led into by the vehemence of their passions, but which the people almost invariably have resented as equal to the greatest crime, because it looks to set aside their will.

It is very well understood, that Alexander Hamilton, who exercised great power over the leading politicians of the Federal school, was decidedly adverse to the project of elevating Mr. Burr to the Presidency. He probably regarded him as in no respect deserving of greater confidence than Mr. Jefferson, and, on the mere ground of policy, it seems as if it was very unadvisable to run the risk of so violent a measure as the perversion of the popular voice, for so poor a chance that ultimate benefit to the country would result from it. And here a moral reflection seems almost unavoidable. For, had Burr been other than he was, his ambition might have come nearer to gratification. Art and intrigue and clever management may at certain times be regarded as the surest methods to attain partial political success; but at others they will prove the most effectual barrier to the highest stations. Had Mr. Burr, when he came into active competition with Mr. Jefferson, possessed any of the noblest qualities of the statesman and the patriot; had he raised himself in the estimation of his opponents by his preceding career, instead of incurring the withering censure of their favorite chief, Washington; had he, in short, been a great man, even in what they held to be his errors, instead of a low party politician,

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their extreme dread of Mr. Jefferson's theories would have confirmed itself into confidence, in preferring the alternative presented in Mr. Burr's general character. They would have adhered to his support with greater hope of justifying themselves before the people, and they would have presented to the lukewarm supporters of Mr. Jefferson a most difficult and trying question between the hazard of anarchy and the abandonment of their first choice. The election of Mr. Burr might, in this event, although still a violation of the people's will, have been an honorable testimony of his political enemies to his personal character, and have furnished to him an opportunity for a creditable administration of the government. We cannot say, that we regret at all the happening of another result. For we hold, that the popular will, when expressed according to law, should always with us be respected; and that, however incorrect we may ourselves believe its decision sometimes to be, the way to effect a change is, to operate upon public opinion, instead of setting it at defiance. But to Mr. Burr it made all the difference in the world. For however his election, had it taken place without any interference of his own, might have manifested the confidence placed in his character, the failure, after the attempt was deliberately made, rather shows that he had none to stand upon.

Yet we are not of those who would censure Mr. Burr for the part he took in the election of 1801. We see no evidence to prove the truth of the charges made against him by Mr. Jefferson of direct interference, but on the contrary some internal marks of their absurdity. He committed, to be sure, a crime, in the eyes of his party, by the cold neutrality assumed by him during the period in which he was made the instrument by which the Federalists hoped to prevent Mr. Jefferson's ascendency. Perhaps, in strict duty, he should have declined competing for a situation, for which he had not been intended. There is a latitude allowable in construing the terms of the Constitution, as they then stood, which will release us from absolutely deciding the point against him. Yet, after a consideration of the whole case *in foro conscientiæ*, we do not perceive much in his conduct upon this occasion deserving of censure.

He settled down into the Vice-Presidency, immediately after the contest was over, a second-rate man. The day of

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his power had gone for ever. He had failed to secure the confidence of his political opponents, and had forfeited that of his friends. His position became one of great difficulty ; but still it was not one, from which a man of extraordinary qualifications, mental and moral, could not have extricated himself with credit. He failed to do so. His love of the mysterious predominated over his sense of the necessity of being frank. His fear of committing his opinions, in any form which he could not at convenience disavow, removed friends and foes indiscriminately from all the avenues of sympathy with his condition. The less they knew his motives of action, the more they distrusted them ; and, in proportion as they noticed his anxiety to hide them, did they magnify their evil nature. Mr. Burr's career as Vice-President, furnishes the last and strongest proof of his want of merit as a political character. It stands before the nation, a mere blank. Acute in his perceptions, rather than just ; keen in his intellectual powers, rather than philosophical, or capacious ; cunning in his projects, rather than noble or wise ; he seems to have shunned all occasions for any active exercise of a beneficent influence upon public affairs, in order to employ his public hours in contriving new ciphers in which to envelope mean ideas or worthless intrigues, and his private ones in multiplying devices to form degrading relations with weak or profligate women. His standard for all human action was low ; his estimate of the motives of others generally the meanest. In searching the volumes before us, we have been astonished, to find how little can justify the biographer's ascription to him, in any sense, of "high moral elevation." He had it not himself ; he did not believe in its existence anywhere. And, in considering these elements of his character, it is with some feeling of shame to ourselves as citizens of the United States, that we are obliged to remember, that such a man secured a majority of voices in the United States, in favor of his claim to the second office in the gift of the people, and was not entirely without a prospect of arriving even at the first.

When the party friendly to the administration of Mr. Jefferson took their final measures to supersede Mr. Burr in the Vice-Presidency at the next election, the party in opposition, by a habit not uncommon in similar cases, determined to take advantage of any popular sympathy which might

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exist in his favor among his ancient friends, and accordingly brought him forward as a candidate for governor in New York. The election was warmly contested, and turned against him, in the end, only in consequence of the interference of General Hamilton, who again exerted his ability to deter members of the Federal party from voting for him, as they would otherwise have done. There is no reason to suppose, that, in this course of repeated hostility to Burr, Hamilton was actuated by other feelings than he professed; but his vehemence very naturally carried a mark of personal enmity with it to the at once mortified and irritated feelings of the twice disappointed candidate. The accidental publication of a report of some unguarded language, used by Hamilton at a caucus during the election, furnished an opportunity for revenge. A duel followed, and Hamilton fell. The immediate cause of this fatal result has appeared to many to have been so trifling, that they have wondered that it should ever have been suffered to operate; and a superficial moral has often been drawn from it, which the case appears to us not to justify. Here, as not infrequently elsewhere, the pretext for the duel was but a faint index of the burden of offence weighing in a cumulative manner upon the mind of the offended party. Mr. Burr was not one of those, who suffer anger to evaporate in violent expressions or mere menacing gestures. He seems to have had his temper always at his command. In a worldly point of view he had nothing to gain from shooting his opponent, and much probably to lose. Yet the deliberation, with which he planned his method of attack, shows that he was in a perfect condition to count the cost of his conduct. Mr. Burr seized the occasion of an indiscreet act of a totally indifferent person, to involve his antagonist in responsibility for a great deal more that had been said and done offensively, than had been brought to light by that act. He only closed the net, which his opponent had been spreading for himself, and that in such a manner that nobody could relax his grasp. There is ample evidence to show, that Mr. Hamilton was earnestly desirous of avoiding a duel. But he was dealing with a person, who was as resolute in his purpose of forcing him into it. The published correspondence respecting it is as characteristic of Mr. Burr, as any thing which remains of him. It betrays throughout a cool determination to press his opponent with an alternative, which he perfectly knew it would

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not be in his power or his disposition to accept. It shows the desire to settle a long account of injuries received, in the blood of his enemy at the hazard of his own. These injuries were, to be sure, suffered in political contentions. But the line between personal and political invective is so indistinctly defined, that few men possess the calmness of mind, or the reflection, necessary always to observe it. It is not likely that Hamilton had been of the number. He had probably indulged in excessive severity against Burr among his political friends, which he could neither deny nor retract with honor. The lesson ought to be a useful one, although we greatly doubt whether it is ever remembered as such. Mr. Hamilton probably fell a victim to a thoughtless use of intemperate language, whilst Burr earned, by his share of the business, credit for singularly cool, deliberate vindictiveness. Hamilton was indiscreet; Burr bloodthirsty. Last of all, Hamilton laid down his life as the price of the world's opinion; Burr paid the same opinion as the price of his enemy's life. Few incidents have happened in the course of our history, which are more full of materials for reflection than this event.

Nothing remained for our hero, but the prospect of desperate enterprises. He became, more completely than ever, a mere adventurer. A project of some sort of dominion appears to have been in his mind, while presiding officer of the Senate at Washington; and, to further it, he earnestly occupied himself whilst there in forming such connexions as might prove useful to him. But the extension of these, in the section of country proposed by him to be the theatre for his future operations, became the motive for a journey taken in the summer of 1805, in the course of which, from Pittsburg to New Orleans, he appears to have been tracing the features of his plan.

But what these features were, and what the real design, has never fully appeared. We expected from our author some light upon this, the most mysterious incident in our history; but we have not been favored with it. He contents himself with a meagre relation of what he believes to have been the design of Mr. Burr, which leaves unexplained much that is at variance with a supposition of its truth. He moreover decides, rather peremptorily, as we think, that the charge of treason to the United States involved in the transaction

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was not only absurd but ridiculous, without showing wherein the nonsense precisely consists. It is a well-known fact, that, upon this particular subject, Mr. Burr himself, during the last years of his life, when he talked freely of most past events, was always extremely reserved. Who were the associates upon whom he relied, and how far they were engaged to go with him, were questions he avoided; and in this conduct his biographer has steadily followed in his footsteps. There seems a little inconsistency in this. If the plan of Burr was no more than is declared, and confined itself simply to an expedition against Mexico, in failure of which an attempt was to be made to settle a tract of land upon the Washita, it surely could not be deemed likely so injuriously to affect the reputation of the individuals concerned in it, as to require the suppression of their names. On the contrary, justice to them would seem to demand that a publication of the exact truth should relieve them from the suspicion, under which many of them have labored, of worse intentions. At this time, indeed, the exposition would be attended with few consequences to any one living, and is desirable principally in an historical point of view. That there really was a double plot, seems hardly deniable, when we consider the evidence of Generals Wilkinson and Eaton, the substance of whose testimony at the trial at Richmond can hardly be discredited, whatever may be the opinion formed of the men. Mr. Jefferson himself seems to have so understood it, from the official information furnished to him in abundance at the time. This double plot was somewhat characteristic of Burr. He found that he had to contend in the Western country with a decided attachment to the Union and to the administration of Mr. Jefferson. In order to get over this, he gave out, among those likely to be affected by it, that his project was only against Mexico, and that in this he was promised the coöperation of both the American and British governments, whilst, to his more intimate associates, he breathed a spirit nothing short of utter contempt and enmity to the institutions of the United States themselves. From all that we now see, we can only infer, that he hoped to organize his expedition by holding out the idea, always popular in the section of country in which he was acting, of an inroad upon Mexico; but that, after it was really on foot, he cherished the hope of turning its force upon his country, at least so far as to get possession of

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New Orleans, and make that city the centre of a new government of the West. If this is not a true explanation, we know not well how to find one. For Mr. Burr's project, as given by himself, appears so rash, ill digested, and feebly concerted, (fit to spring from the brain of an idiot rather than out of the head of a calculating politician and daring officer,) that, if we are forced to believe his deathbed declarations, we must at the same time admit a striking contradiction to have taken place of the principal characteristics which mark the man throughout all of his preceding life.

It should be observed, that, until the formation of this deep intrigue, the western people knew, personally, nothing of Burr. He had never before appeared among them in order to conciliate towards himself those feelings of deep attachment, without which an enterprise like his is hardly practicable. And, when he came, his system of mystery was little calculated to act upon the warm-tempered, open-hearted men of that region. The consequence was, that there was no cohesion in the chain he was forming. When his small party embarked in his boats at Cincinnati, and looked to either bank of the Ohio and the Mississippi as they descended, for the auxiliaries whom he had engaged, they were destined to meet with nothing but disappointment. These persons feared to commit themselves irrevocably to a man whom they did not fully know. The consequence was, that, when he had reached the proper point to communicate with New Orleans, his force remained too small to impose even upon the imagination of General Wilkinson. That officer, who had previously to this instant been acting very ambiguously, to say the least of it, now found himself constrained to save himself and his reputation by sacrificing Burr. He even contrived to do more, and actually made a merit of his preceding equivocation. Without entering into further detail respecting this, it is only necessary to add, that, from the moment Wilkinson turned his back, Burr's hope was extinguished. The few individuals, who had embarked with him in his voyage down the river, quietly dispersed, the grand scheme which had put the whole Western country in a ferment evaporated in smoke, and its projector and chief executor, upon landing in the territory of Mississippi with a view to escape from justice, found himself utterly unable to resist the

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miserable force of the corporal's guard which apprehended him.

Perhaps a more ignominious failure never took place ; and it would seem as if it would have been more expedient in the government of the Union, if it had decided there to let the matter rest. But Mr. Jefferson construed his duty otherwise ; and the consequence was, that Burr was tried for treason by the Court of the United States, sitting at Richmond, over which Chief Justice Marshall presided. His conviction became a political question ; the eagerness manifested to procure which, by the party of the majority, excited a corresponding anxiety in the minority to defeat it. The trial proved to be a test of legal acuteness in technical defence, rather than of truth. Burr stood wholly upon the law of forms, in which he was supported by five of the most distinguished lawyers of Virginia and Maryland. He secured a degree of public sympathy which he scarcely deserved, because the over-earnestness of the President to secure a conviction, which forfeited his life, bore the aspect of personal rancor against a fallen and prostrate foe. Under these circumstances he escaped, only through a result which he himself somewhere calls a drawn battle. Chief Justice Marshall, in pronouncing an opinion, in this perhaps the most critical situation of his life, confined himself strictly within the question of jurisdiction ; and the jury, in bringing in a corresponding verdict, expressly excepted to the general inference in favor of the prisoner which it might occasion. Hence, although Burr was found not guilty of treason within the limits of Virginia, he might have been proved so elsewhere ; and, even if the act should be admitted to have been nowhere susceptible of strict legal establishment in a capital trial, it may now be not unreasonably charged upon him before the bar of reason and conscience.

Although Aaron Burr stepped out of the court-room safe from all further hazard of prosecution, he found himself bankrupt both in fortune and in fame. Nothing to hope or to expect remained to him in America. The party whose ascendency he had done more than any other man in the Union to secure, had become deeply embittered against him for the virulence indulged in by him and his legal advisers, during the trial, against their leader, Mr. Jefferson ; whilst the Federalists, however they might overlook for a time,

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could neither forgive nor forget, his murder of Mr. Hamilton. And other persons, including, perhaps, all that numerous class who regard politics as secondary to morals and religion, though they took no active part in the passions excited by the contest, yet had learned enough of the man to regard him with sentiments of dread and the deepest distrust. It was manifest, that to him the game was up in the United States; and no alternative was left, but to bid good-bye to home, and try his fortune in another land.

It was with this view, that, in 1808, Burr took his passage in a British packet bound to England, and that he spent the four succeeding years in a residence in various parts of Europe. At first the hope seems to have been strong within him of enlisting the government of England or of France in support of his long-cherished schemes against some of the Spanish-American States. But the period was not propitious; and, as his prospect of active occupation grew dim, he resigned himself, without a struggle, to a state of listless and unprofitable indolence. Instead of contriving the overthrow of great States, he became content to exercise his restless faculties upon projects of making vinegar out of wood, and improving artificial teeth. It is of the four years now in question, that the "Private Journal," which makes the second of the works named at the head of our article, gives some account. A solitary individual, in a strange land, Burr hit upon a Diary, as an expedient to while away some lonely hours, as well as to amuse the melancholy of the only being in the world, who, through all his fortunes, adhered to him with undeviating attachment, his daughter, Mrs. Alston. This Diary is now given to the world by the same gentleman who furnished the biography. We took it up with greater expectations than were destined to be fulfilled. Any work of the kind, when the product of a thinking and powerful mind, appears to us to promise beforehand much entertainment. It needs only, that the writer should describe scenes of interest in which he lived, or conversations with able men, or simply throw his own thoughts and feelings boldly upon the paper, and his book must inevitably prove an agreeable companion. Unfortunately Mr. Burr has done no one of these three things. His love of the mysterious pervades every page, showing itself in dark allusions, which cannot easily be applied by the general reader, or in enigmatical cir-

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cumlocutions, which are not worth the trouble it would take to understand them. It is an amusing circumstance, that a man, who made it a principle, through life, to commit nothing of importance in his own mind, to writing, should have ever thought of keeping a Journal. Indeed, to do him justice, he describes his plan, rather as in the nature of a lawyer's notes, from which he may freely communicate his reminiscences orally to his daughter, than as a full relation of his life. The work itself answers the description he gives; it is like a lawyer's brief, and about as interesting.

Yet there are touches of nature in it, here and there, which prevent one from positively throwing it down in disgust. It is constantly tantalizing us with the hope of something better to come. We collect from it no information of the precise objects of his voyage; yet we see that he communicates with distinguished men. Celebrated names pass in review before us, with as little result as the figures made upon the wall by a magic lantern. We are told, it is true, of that which he ate and drank, of his anxiety respecting a pimple on his nose and a cut lip, but not a hint of what he means to do. We are informed of the merit of *café blanc* and Roussillon wine, much more fully than of the characters of Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning, of Denon and Volney, with whom he seems to have had conferences in England and in France. Decidedly the most interesting pages of the Journal are those which disclose his extreme poverty, and the shifts which he made to live from day to day. Otherwise it is as much a blank as it could be made. There is but a single elevated thought, and not one striking, original reflection, coming from Burr, in the two volumes. And that thought is more remarkable as his, than for any other reason, because it is the only one, approaching to any sense of religion, that we are able to impute to him. It may be found near the close of the work, in the account of his voyage from Boston to New York. We must also beg leave to observe, that the typographical execution is by no means creditable to the publishers, who have suffered the French language to be most unjustly tortured in the phrases which Burr so frequently introduces.

There is one disclosure made in this Diary, which appears to us to put the finishing stroke upon Burr's character. We refer to the serious claim advanced by him to the right of

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citizenship in Great Britain, in order to secure himself from the inconvenience attending the rigid execution of the alien act. We do not, for ourselves, comprehend how a person, who, according to his biographer, had examined the merits of the question between Great Britain and the Colonies, and who, from the result of that examination, had become a Whig as well by conviction as by feeling, should have advanced any such claim. Nor can we perceive, how his oath of allegiance to Great Britain, due as a citizen, could be reconciled to his having borne arms against her during five years of the Revolutionary war. What estimate are we to form of his motives, when we see him, very contentedly, returning to acknowledge the sovereign, whose tyrannical exercise of power, he had pretended, was so intolerable as to justify armed resistance? We leave this question for more profound casuists to settle, only remarking, that the effect of this movement was decisive upon Lord Hawkesbury, who not only pronounced the claim monstrous, but took immediate measures to remove the claimant from the kingdom. It was only the absence of power to do evil, which could make such an individual perfectly harmless. Yet our biographer, in noticing this, perhaps the most barefaced act of his whole life, passes it off almost without any censure at all. He thinks the claim was "certainly unfounded, and injudiciously asserted, for it probably increased the suspicion and distrust entertained of him;" that is, in other words, that Burr was more to blame for his folly in disclosing his knavery, than for the knavery itself. Surely Mr. Davis can have formed only a very feeble conception of the distinction between right and wrong in political conduct, and can entertain no great veneration for the principles at the bottom of our Revolutionary struggle, if he is ready to designate so shameful and profligate a desertion of them in no more sufficient terms. A man, with whom patriotism did not weigh in the scale with a slight personal inconvenience from the British alien act, only needed the same temptations, into which Benedict Arnold fell, to do as he did, and fully merited the severe sentence, which Washington so early passed upon his integrity.

The dread of his extraordinary powers of intrigue seems to have been felt, alike by the British government, and by Napoleon, then Emperor of France. After a stay of a few

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months in London, and a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with great distinction, he, in his Diary, dated April 4th, 1809, makes the following record.

"*Having a confused presentiment that something was wrong,* packed up my papers and clothes with intent to go and seek other lodgings. At one o'clock came in, without knocking, four coarse looking men, who said they had a state warrant for seizing me and my papers; but refused to show the warrant. I was peremptory, and the warrant was produced, signed 'Liverpool'; but I was not permitted to read the whole. They took possession of my trunks, searched every part of the room for papers, threw all the loose articles into a sack, called a coach, and away we went to the Alien office," &c. — *Private Journal*, Vol. I. p. 189.

Now nobody in the world will suspect Burr of superstition. Therefore it is fair to infer, that a confused presentiment, which was so strong in him as to impel him to remove to new lodgings, and which carried its own verification so immediately as to prevent him from executing his intention, could not have been felt, without a corresponding sense of something previously done or conceived, which might give occasion to so unceremonious a visit. But what this something was, we are left as much in the dark about as usual. There is a break in the Journal from the preceding 19th of March, although, if the vacuum had been supplied, we should not probably have been the wiser. It is enough to add, that his liberation from confinement was upon the condition of his departure from the kingdom within forty-eight hours. He accepted the alternative, and sailed to Sweden, from whence he made his way to France. But he had already attracted the notice of the French police under Napoleon, who directed M. de Bourrienne, his minister at Hamburg, to watch him as a dangerous man. We are, at this day, entirely at a loss to know the reasons for this treatment. Even when he succeeded in reaching Paris, it was only to find himself in strict *surveillance*, without the power to move from the spot which he had chosen. We see that he became pennyless, and obliged to exercise his wits, in order to live from day to day, because all this is shown very fully in the Diary. But why it was, that he was regarded as so important a personage, when he seems to us to have lost all ability equally to injure and to aid, having become a mere cipher in society,

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is not explained, and probably never will be exactly understood.

A remarkable characteristic of Burr, presented in his Diary, was his self-control. This was manifested by his suppression of all expressions of indignation against those persons who treated him ill, and of every sentiment of discontent or unhappiness, under circumstances of distress and privation, which have rarely been the lot, in so great a degree, of men so distinguished as he was in life. Mr. Davis says, truly, that "not a discontented or fretful expression is to be found in his voluminous memoranda." "The Journal contains a protracted record of privations, sometimes threatening absolute and hopeless want, but endured throughout with undisturbed and characteristic fortitude and gayety." It may be added, that, when his application for a passport to return to the United States was answered by Mr. Russell, then diplomatic representative of the United States at Paris, in terms of refusal, which appear to us to have been needlessly harsh and insulting, the simple fact is recorded with little of comment. So, whenever he met with marks of the detestation in which he was held by most of his countrymen abroad, who would not bear letters or bundles home for him, if they knew them to be his, he notices them, in this most private communication of his feelings, with scarcely a sign of sensibility. Yet that Burr felt insult, his duel with Hamilton clearly proves. There are but two methods of explaining his conduct. He may have hardened himself to bear, without shrinking, what he saw must be his fate, until he really ceased to feel it; or his early-learned habits of dissimulation led him, as a matter of policy, to suppress all manifestation of sentiments, the indulgence of which might, at any time, inconveniently commit him. We leave it to those, who take sufficient interest in the subject, to select the motive which bears the highest analogy to his general character. No matter what it is, the effect is unquestionably agreeable. We can hardly help liking the man, who is cheerful and resigned. There is a natural sympathy with the patient under adversity, which defies reasoning. And, when we see this adversity increased by the wilful malice or cowardly fears of fellow-creatures, and no symptoms of relenting in pursuit of means to crush an enemy already fallen, whatever may have been our opinions of the sufferer, and however deserving we may

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regard him of his fate, censure will give place to pity, and condemnation will not be unmingled with regret.

Burr returned to America, neither a wiser nor a better man than when he left it; but he came to lose all of the little compensation, which this life had yet to give him, and to linger on the scene, many years, an isolated wretch. Through all his European wanderings, one object appears to have remained bright to him, a polestar, by which to regulate his course. One daughter and her child then still existed, towards whom his affections seemed to yearn, with a degree of warmth increasing as they grew dead to every other being, and whose continuance in life was the only futurity, about which he was uniformly sanguine. But even they were to be taken from him before he was able to see them again, one of them by a natural death, and the other, when upon her way to him, by a melancholy fate, which has never been explained. And thus he became a being thoroughly deserted and desolate, yet to live for more than twenty years, as his biographer describes him, "in a condition more mortifying and more prostrate, than any distinguished man has ever experienced in the United States."

The biographer tells us, that Mr. Burr entertained great contempt for history, and confided little in its details. These prejudices were strengthened, he adds, "by the consideration that justice, in his opinion, had not been done to himself." Mr. Davis seems more than half inclined to believe this complaint well founded, when he ascribes the result to what he deems a great error in Burr, whose practice was, when attacked by the newspapers, "to keep silence, leave his actions to speak for themselves, and let the world construe them as they pleased." This enabled his enemies to create upon the public mind an impression against him, by giving them the advantage of a one-sided story. We are not sure, that, in ordinary cases, we should not consider Mr. Burr's system more judicious, than that recommended by his biographer. A truly virtuous man will live down calumny more certainly in America, than in any other country where that instrument of attack is less boldly and unscrupulously used. There is a tendency in falsehood, when carried to a great extent, to defeat its own purpose. And many public men have derived quite as much benefit from the incredulity of the public about statements made of their errors, as they have in-

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jury from the misrepresentation of their good conduct. Neither to affirm nor to deny what was asserted respecting him on indifferent authority, was good policy in Mr. Burr, who never exposed himself to be contradicted by any thing written under his own hand, and who would have been more likely to be injured than benefited by a clear exposition of his true motives of action. He acted in this, as in every other part of his life, upon calculation. And we are inclined to think in his case that calculation just. There might be more doubt, where there was less to conceal. With respect to the injustice, which he felt had been done to him, we are at a loss to know wherein it lies. The purpose of history is answered by recording results, and it cannot be expected unerringly to mark out the separate share which each individual had in producing them. Hence it cannot be a matter of surprise, if mistakes do occasionally arise from confounding the agency of one person in any event, with that of another. Possibly injustice may sometimes be done in this manner, and one man may gain credit, or incur censure, for the act of his neighbour. This is probably the kind of injustice which Burr complained of, but after all it is trifling. The life of any distinguished man is not judged of by one act more or less, nearly so much as by the general complexion of all. Even admitting that Mr. Burr was entitled to complain, that he had been robbed of his merited reward, in one or two instances, (although we know nothing to prove it,) yet we cannot infer from this any thing which should shake the estimate formed of his character. His actions from boyhood to advanced age do speak for themselves, as he said they would; and no effort to cover them with apologies or explanations, as Mr. Davis would have recommended, could have proved effectual. There are none of the leading public men of the Revolution, with the exception perhaps of Washington, who have not left materials behind them, in which a sharper outline of themselves will be perceptible, through all the coats of color and varnish which they may have attempted to lay on, than was traceable in their own age. Mr. Burr has proved nothing against the history he condemns. A friend has furnished to the world all the documents in his defence, which his own care supplied. He has even suppressed what bore hardest against him, and gone as far to palliate and to excuse as he dared. Yet where does Burr now

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stand? Has his fame grown brighter than it was? and will he yet be one of that noble band, whose good name will be associated with the origin of the United States, to the end of recorded time? Who can hesitate to answer these questions unfavorably? And what doubt can there be, that the sentence of his own generation will not be fully confirmed by posterity?

Yet it may be possible, that the retribution, which was visited upon Burr during his later life, was, although perhaps not greater than he deserved, still much more severe than has fallen to the share of others, who were in fact not a whit better than he. The popular voice has perhaps at other times been more lenient, or more mistaken. It ought not to be forgotten, that Burr's name, scorched as it was by the censure of Washington, came very near being placed upon the same level with his, in the list of those to whom their fellow-citizens have awarded the highest mark of their confidence. Had it been ordained, that Aaron Burr should become President of the United States, and had his ambition, unchastened as it proved to be, exhausted its force in the legitimate channels afforded by the country's institutions, he might have escaped the heavy condemnation he now receives, and have been lauded for virtuous and patriotic motives of action which he never entertained. We may admit, that, in this point of view, history may be often, although we know not that it has been, defective. We are conscious, that

"Gilded wood will many worms enfold,"

and that the principles of man are often the mere consequence of the situation in which he is placed. But what is this to Mr. Burr? Another fate might have made him appear to us better than he was, but it does not entitle him to complain of that which shows him as no worse. This might justify him in contemning that history, which exalts some into patriots and statesmen, who in other circumstances would have been what he was; but not in moving to arrest the true judgment, which his own thoughts, words, and deeds have brought down upon him.

Of the moral character of Burr, we fear that we have not much to say in praise. With the records of his notorious and abandoned profligacy, which he prided himself in preserving all his life, with the view of giving them afterwards

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to the world, we are very glad that Mr. Davis took effective measures to prevent our having any acquaintance. In this, if in nothing else, he has done a great service to the public morals. As a domestic man, we see little to condemn, if not much to praise. Of his wife we find a few letters, which breathe the most ardent affection for him, and a better general spirit, than we should have expected. They are answered by him in terms, at first apparently quite as strong, cooling gradually down until they cease with her death, after which, in all the letters to his daughter, and in his Journal, we do not remember a single instance of recurrence to her memory. Not a sigh at her death, — not a moment set apart as a tribute to her worth. The letters to his daughter go right on, as if nothing had happened. She appears to have taken up all the room he gave to domestic attachment. She became the pride of his heart and the darling of his affections. So far as we may be qualified to judge of her from the perusal of her letters, which form a part of the works before us, we should pronounce her to have been worthy of much regard. The education, which she had received, was, in many respects, peculiar, and grew out of her father's notions on the subject. He prized the masculine virtues much, and hence maintained, that boys and girls should be treated, in youth, upon the same plan. To him, religion seems to have been no essential, and morality rather important as a rule of expediency, than of abstract right. He held the want of genius, which he confessed he perceived in the great number of the female sex, to spring from errors of bringing up, from the force of prejudice and habit, rather than from natural constitution. And the weakness, which he had made it the study of his life to play upon, he declared, could be cured by thorough intellectual developement. In compliance with this system, we perceive him assiduous in overseeing his daughter's studies in Greek, and Latin, and French, her composition, and her external accomplishment, but utterly indifferent to the progress of her social or religious affections. He appears to have wished her to be a politician as bold and as unscrupulous as himself. Mrs. Alston must have been possessed of much native character, to resist, so successfully as she did, the errors of her father's plan of instruction. Her letters, though energetic, do not lose the feminine character, nor fail to show in her, that art cannot wholly weed out

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the seeds which nature plants. There is a vein of melancholy running through them all, which makes one sensibly feel, that there was a void at her heart, which her father had created, and which she could not fill. That void was the absence of all inculcated religious principle. So that, when her greatest trial came, and she was deprived of her only child, whom she had made the object of her idolatry in this world, she looked round, and saw nothing more to fear or to hope. "Omnipotence," she says, "could give her no equivalent for her boy." Neither could her father, at that awful moment, compensate her for his failure to teach what alone can have any effect in soothing such a tone of despair, or in producing any resignation to that decree of Omnipotence, the justice of which she so boldly impugns. We can easily understand the desolateness of her condition, and sympathize with the first outpourings of a mother's heart; but, in the midst of it, we cannot fail to ask, what to her, at that instant, would be worth all the schemes, for her, of her father's worldly ambition, compared with the single drop of balm which he had neglected or forgotten to put within her reach. The catastrophe which immediately followed, in the loss of her at sea, comes upon us with little regret, when we remember how few were her remaining motives to live. We look upon her story with much the same feeling, as one might witness the performance of some of those Greek dramas, in which the characters suffer too much by acts which they cannot control, to make it disagreeable to arrive at the end. The scene is too darkly shaded to afford even a ray of sunlight to relieve the gloom.

And after his daughter and his grandson had gone from this world, and Burr thus became a lone man, taking little part in the hopes or fears of his fellows, earning a paltry subsistence by weaving the filmy cobwebs of the law, disliking and disliked, he still continued unchanged in the frivolity of his pursuits, and unsubdued by the severity of the lessons he had been taught. His vicious propensities appear at last to have completely smothered all latent sparks of ambition, until he became nothing more than a living monument of his past history, — an old man whom nobody respected. The case is as singular as it is melancholy. We would fain not say of it so much as we are compelled to think. It is always painful to observe the latter days of any man of note passed without

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the honor due to age and services; and this, even when we are conscious that the cause is to be found in himself. Our pity for Burr is, perhaps, more than he himself would have thought to be called for. The solitary oak which stands for years, after the lightning has furrowed its stem and scathed its summit, turning it to decay, is not a more fitting emblem of desolation, than the moral vegetation of such a human being.

We have but a single word to add; and this relates to his critical and literary judgment. With a mind possessing acute powers of reasoning, without any definite moral basis, it cannot be wondered at, that he should often be struck with the new rather than the true. Jeremy Bentham and Mary Wolstoncraft seem to have been the great authorities in politics and morals to which he bowed. Whether he borrowed from the former his definition of law, which we have already quoted, we do not know, or whether it was original with himself; but, in either case, the scale of his moral developement may be equally well understood. His letters to his daughter communicate little beyond the detail of his love affairs, and allusions to local and temporary matters. They are clearly written and vigorously expressed; for Burr through life thought clearly, however fond of mystery in his actions. But they do not exalt him in our estimation. To sum up all, we think, after regarding him in every light, whether as an officer, a lawyer, a politician, or a citizen, we cannot agree with Mr. Davis in calling him a great man, and shall never think him to have been a good one. Nor can we wonder, that the pure and patriotic mind of Washington should have shrunk from contact with one so decidedly its opposite, or that he should have exercised his influence, in its whole extent, to prevent its evil influence upon our public affairs.

ART. VII. — *The Life and Character of the Reverend Samuel H. Stearns.* Second Edition. Boston: J. A. Stearns. 1839. pp. 252.

A BRIEF notice was taken of the "Life and Select Discourses" of Mr. Stearns in our number for July, 1838. The second edition of the work is wholly in the form of

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a Memoir, the Discourses being omitted, with a view, as we are informed in the Preface, to the publication, hereafter, of a larger collection of Discourses by themselves. We would repeat our recommendation of this book as a pleasant biography of an interesting man. We have thought, in reading it, of the importance of self-cultivation in the Christian ministry. We shall aim at nothing more in our present remarks, than a few obvious suggestions upon this point.

A minister's thoughts and concern are officially and necessarily for others. He has his congregation before his mind in his solitary study. He judges of the fitness of a consolation or reproof by the condition and feelings of some of his flock; he determines even what to think upon, or what to write, by his knowledge of the moral state of others. In the pulpit, he thinks, he feels, he speaks, for others; he tries to help the devotions of others in his prayers. He recollects what he has said in public with reference to its probable effect on others, and goes amongst his flock to repeat his instructions and exhortations. If a minister's heart were impressible like wax, and each character he comes in contact with, could stamp it, it would sometimes look like one of Quarles's Emblems; and, again, it would be like a registry on a mountain, where the various travellers have inscribed their joyful, or querulous, or pathetic, or sublime, or ludicrous impressions. Every week he has to be imprinted afresh. New cases of interest continually occur to make a deeper impression than the former. He must go through the houses of his people, if from no better motive, to forestall the half affectionate and half murmuring complaint at his long absence. Though

> "Wide is his parish, and houses fer asonder,
> Yet he must leave nought for no rain ne thonder."

It is evident, that no man can give himself up to such cares and influences without losing all originality and freshness of character and feeling, unless, by a determined and systematic effort, he makes the cultivation of his own mind a prominent object of his life. He cannot for a long time profit others without it. But this is not the motive which we would at present urge. He owes it to himself; he must not neglect himself in caring for others; he is of as much importance as any other individual, considered as an intelligent being; his

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own character and influence cannot be formed or sustained without watchfulness against the effect of almost incessant and desultory effort.

He, however, who should withdraw from the world and give himself to solitary study, would soon be unfit for the Christian ministry, and lose perhaps the best of his opportunities for moral improvement. A minister must live and move amongst his people, if he would be successful even as a preacher. Subjects suggested by the experience of a parishioner, and coming, crystallized and sparkling with accretions gained by passing through the well-stored mind of the preacher, will be likely to affect many minds.

All discourses, however, are not, they cannot be, drawn from incidents in a parish. There are themes which are not of the will of man. But even these depend, for their effect upon a congregation, on that power of presenting truth which is learned only by knowing the channels in which the thoughts of men are apt to flow, and on that ability to make a subject practical which is gained by acquaintance with the wants and errors of the human mind.

To this we may add the necessity of constant improvement, from the advancement of the community in general knowledge. Popular lectures make men familiar not only with the various subjects of literature and science, but with the best forms of thought and expression. They bring their instructed minds to the ministrations of the sanctuary ; and, while the preacher has the advantage over all who address them, in his opportunities of reaching their minds and hearts, he must not, in reliance on this superiority, fail to make his " profiting appear to all." He should seek for the best gifts in thinking and writing and speaking, that his instructions may not be held in disadvantageous comparison with those of literary teachers. If, instead of suggesting new trains of thought, or presenting sacred truth in varied and interesting lights, he occupies his discourses chiefly with exhortations, or moralizes effeminately, or abounds excessively in that tropical luxuriance to which an imaginative mind is prone, he will excite the disrespect, if not the contempt, of his hearers. On the principle of self-defence, as a means of continuing in his place, to say nothing of his usefulness, it is essential that the minister take heed to these things. But we now recur to

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our original motive for self-cultivation, from which we have thus digressed to magnify its importance.

As the camomile gives out its fragrance and multiplies itself by being trodden underfoot, so the minister, who sacredly attends to the improvement of his own mind, is helped in his intellectual efforts by those incessant and urgent demands upon him, which oppress and overcome one who does not study. The studious minister is a student everywhere; the secretive powers of his mind are always at work; he is getting intellectual and moral nourishment from men and things, from cursory reading, from passing events and scenes. When called to public intellectual effort, if his health and spirits are in a proper tone, he will have an alacrity of thought and feeling from the influence of active duties upon his cultivated mind. In his private ministerial labors, the consciousness of doing his duty to himself as an intellectual being will give him the same alacrity, and a sustaining energy in his business, and amongst men. He verifies Cicero's eulogium upon letters; "Delectant domi, non impediunt foris; — nobiscum peregrinantur." There is an electricity about the mind of such a man, which accumulates thoughts and illustrations wherever he may be. His mind is fertilized, and the seeds of things, which drop into it from books or observation, yield, some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundred fold. The habit of original study gives a man an invigoration, a muscularity of mind, which impresses others with a sense of his strength. He makes a path of his own through every subject.

So long as the studies which a clergyman pursues are not unprofitable (and it is hard to say of almost any thing, as a subject of investigation, that it is useless), and provided he does not become absorbed in it, as eccentric minds are apt to be in their odd selections, we had almost said it is no matter what a man chooses by which to exercise the investigating powers of his mind. A knowledge of the things which lie immediately within the scope of his profession, and those concentric studies which belong to his calling, every one who would write sermons is obliged in some manner to regard. But there is something to be done for the mind, beyond its ordinary occupation with mere professional studies. These will soon fatigue and disgust, if not interchanged with studies which have no immediate relation to the profes-

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sion. It is of great use to keep up a course of reading, or the study of some language, or the investigation of some science, which has not, perceptibly, even a remote connexion with one's calling. It gives a vigor to the intellectual powers upon returning to the specific duties of the profession. It imparts a self-respect amongst men; it opens unexpected sources of illustration.

There will be one effect from a determined adherence to the principle we are considering, which many preachers, we cannot doubt, would find favorable to their increased usefulness. It would lead them to write fewer but more valuable sermons. A conscientious minister is apt to employ his time in intellectual efforts for the pulpit, which on account of their number are necessarily inferior, except that occasionally, in a moment of inspiration, he will produce a discourse which he will dare to rank among his happy efforts. When he looks over his manuscripts, his heart sometimes sinks at the sight of what he cannot regard otherwise than as useless matter; — though, when he wrote and preached these discourses, they had to his mind the interest of novelty and of a present excitement. Few discourses will have the same interest to the writer's mind at all times; they should not, therefore, be hastily condemned; but we believe that the younger clergy, to say the least, generally feel, that they have a collection of manuscripts, prepared amidst the multiplicity of parochial cares, which are unfit to be repeated, or to be read by another.

We believe that this evil can be in a measure remedied, though juvenile efforts will generally appear in an unfavorable light to the mature judgment of the writer. The evil, we believe, can be remedied in part by a solemn determination to make the preparation for the pulpit the first and great labor of the ministerial life, by devoting much time to the selection and arrangement of each subject, and, by right habits of self-improvement, bringing a well-stored mind to its discussion. If a minister sustains himself and makes visible improvement in his pulpit, he is established in the confidence and respect of his people; but, if he fails here, however laborious and affectionate and faithful he may be elsewhere, the people will soon tire of his services. Now, if, instead of preparing two sermons a week, each hastily written, the time and strength should be devoted to one, the influence of the pulpit would

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be greater, the people would be more permanently edified, the preparation of discourses would become easier and more pleasant, and, what is desirable, a great number of them would bear to be repeated. Some plan in connexion with this, with respect to the other service on the Sabbath, such as preaching extempore, or a system of exchanges, will enable the young preacher to advance in his ministerial labor with pleasure and profit.

These remarks have an important bearing upon a topic of peculiar interest to parishes and the clergy at the present day. We refer to the frequent dismission of ministers. We have no doubt, that one cause of this evil is the want of studious habits in many of the clergy, owing in part to the increased benevolent efforts of the times. If a minister considered it a principal object of his life to study, not only would the people be better satisfied with his labors, but he would think less of the inconveniences and trials of his place. He would be so absorbed in his literary and religious pursuits, that he would not feel many of the irritating things to which an indolent habit with regard to study makes him sensitive. Want of support, serious divisions in his parish, or dissatisfaction with his services, of course will follow him into his study, and end, perhaps, without his fault and against his wishes, in his dismission. But a great cause of the removal of ministers at the present day, we have reason to believe, is a dissatisfaction with their places of labor, which might in many cases be prevented by better habits of study. A man, who is conscious of advancement in true learning, will so perceive his ability to profit others, and feel a self-sustaining energy from the natural effect of right mental exercise, as to look upon his people, in a good sense, as his dependents, rather than upon himself as subject to their caprice. Its effect upon him, as to the anticipation or fear of trouble in his parish, compared with a slothful spirit, is, that, whereas in the one case he will "flee when no man pursueth," in the other, he will be "bold as a lion." He will be superior to the petty causes of discontent which so often embitter and finally destroy the ministerial connexion. His spirit will be cheerful in the interchange of parochial duties with sedentary pursuits, provided his habits of study and of relaxation are proper. His advancement in knowledge, and in ability to explain and defend the truth, will be perceived and felt. His

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topics of discourse will be so varied, that he will not abound in exhortations which proceed from no definite truth, or which, if they have a form of doctrine for their foundation, remind one of those willows which rise a little way from the earth with a poor, cropped trunk, and straightway dishevel themselves into a multitude of rods.

The habit of perpetual exhortation irritates the minds of men, and does little or no good. Its reflex influence on the preacher is pernicious. Discouragement, temptation to say sharp things, a sour spirit towards those who do not yield to his exhortations, will not unfrequently be the fatal result of such habits of preaching; and then comes a conviction, that his usefulness is at an end in his present place, and that he has a call of Providence to leave it, perhaps like Abram, not knowing whither he goes. Many cases of this kind, we have no question, would have been prevented by suitable habits of study.

It is but of little consequence, after all, to a good and faithful minister, where he is settled, as it regards his own profit, or his influence on the world. A man may be almost buried in a hamlet amongst the mountains. The world may never hear or read his name. He faithfully uses the trust committed to him, and dies almost unknown. Such an one may not only be acknowledged hereafter as a better servant than another, whose name and fame were great amongst men, but it may also happen, that the tradition, if not the contemporaneous record, of his hidden life, is published to the world; and then his simple faith, his unambitious spirit, his devoted love for his Master and his charge, have a greater effect upon the world, than he could have produced, if he had preached to thousands, and had spent his life in the scenes of a great city. There are places, small and inconsiderable, in our own and in other lands, which will probably be known, for many generations, by their association with the name and memory of the minister, who spent his life in their quiet and almost unknown retirements. We are deceived, if we think that our characters or usefulness depend, mainly, upon our places of labor. Young ministers, especially, need to learn, that their usefulness is not to be computed by their immediate and obvious success. Opposite the window, at which we are writing, there is a tall, young elm. Its trunk, black with the rain which is now falling, shows, in strong contrast, the

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few tufted leaves which it has yet been able to produce, while, not far from it, a young fruit-tree is already full of leaves and blossoms. The latter will not long retain its present beauty, it cannot yield much fruit; but the elm will be full and green all summer, even its shade will be better than its neighbour's fruit, and, fifty years hence, it will probably be a suitable emblem of a man of God, beneath whose quiet influence the generations of a people, their flowers and their taller grass, have fallen asleep. This is an age of sudden and violent impulse to do good, to reform mankind, to hasten the cycles of the divine decrees. Young ministers partake, to some extent, of the spirit of the times, and are unlike the nation which the Prophet said, had not, from its youth, been emptied from vessel to vessel. We are persuaded, that one great means of curing the evil is, (not to be less benevolent, not to have a jealousy and fear of all reforms, but) to recognise and practise this truth, that a prominent object of a minister's life should be self-cultivation.

We have spoken chiefly of intellectual culture. The Christian ministry affords the best possible opportunities for moral self-cultivation. In observing examples of excellent goodness, and also of the unsuspected deceitfulness of the human heart, in commending and reproving others, a minister will be reminded of his own deficiencies; and, while he seeks to make others better, how can he, without hypocrisy, neglect to practise his own teachings? Secluded from the world in a degree favorable to reflection, and yet continually called into the world, at least by his official intercourse with his people, he fully realizes all that is good in the idea of the monastic life, while he is preserved from its injurious abuse. He is not taken "out of the world," but is in a great measure kept "from the evil." He has advantages for learning all that is of general value in other callings, without the undesirable liabilities and necessities of those callings. His studies, for instance, may lead him into some of the paths of that profession which is concerned with the principles of law; for a knowledge of these principles is of use in the statement and illustration of Christian truth; but how different with him is the object and use of such knowledge, from its employment in the perplexing and wearisome contests of man with his neighbour. So with respect to the facts and

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principles of almost every other calling; the Christian minister has an advantage from them, in which, compared with those who are employed in their practical application to the arts and purposes of life, he is like the earth, which drinks in the showers which the sun, and sea, and clouds have wrought. He seems to be set apart, in every respect, by the arrangements of Providence, for the highest advantage to his moral improvement, and, at the same time, he is deprived of no privilege, nor excluded from any thing which is necessary to his consciousness of being a member, in full communion, of the great human family.

The improvement of these opportunities for moral culture will show itself in the character of his appeals from the pulpit. A man, who has done nothing but inform himself, by study, with regard to facts and theories, will address himself only to the understanding, and that with but little success. He will be, perhaps, an instructive, but certainly a hard, dry, uninteresting preacher. We remember Burke's opinion of "the heart of a thorough-bred metaphysician." The subjects, with which a preacher is conversant, and the motives which are supposed to influence him, will, of course, sever his heart from the cold and inhuman influences, which gather round the soul of one, whose chief employment is to practise metaphysical alchemy upon the nature of man. But, next to him, in doing injustice to the nature which God has given us, is the man who sets forth moral and religious truth, as though we had only the power of cold and barren intellection. What a mysterious and dread power is the human conscience! To approach it, and deal with it successfully, requires more art and care than in approaching a Pythoness; — to secure its well-instructed aid, to prevent its encouragement of evil doing, is oftentimes a harder work than was the bringing back of Eurydice from hell. The man, who would do it successfully, must be able to say, in sympathy with Apostolic goodness, — "We trust we have a good conscience." He must know its ocean-like depths and changes, its troubled billows, its halcyon peace. He must have experienced the bitterness of sorrow at its silence with regard to his errors and sins, when it was spell-bound by evil desire; he must have felt its power, when it afterward shouted, like a giant by reason of wine. Of the human conscience, it may be said, "Its roaring is the roaring of a lion, but its favor is as

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dew upon the grass." Surely none but he who has made himself a study, can speak of such things successfully to his fellow-men ; and we say, that there are no opportunities for such study more favorable than those which he enjoys, who has the "cure of souls," and is thereby led, if he is a sincere and honest man, to a self-application of the errors, and the self-deceit, and the good moral examples of others.

"The Apostle Poule unto the Romaines writeth, Man shall rejoyce with hem that maketh joy, and wepen with swiche folk as wepen." * Emotion is indispensable to the highest usefulness in preaching ; and there are no circumstances which call into exercise the various emotions of the human soul, to be compared with those which occur in the experience of a parish clergyman. The necessity of sympathizing with the joys and sorrows of his flock, gives one, who is sincerely engaged in doing good to his fellow-creatures, that moral sensibility which is essential to completeness of character. He is forbidden to be a Stoic, by the irresistible appeals which the circumstances of his people make to his heart. He cannot be diligent without having continual occasion for the exercise, and so for the cultivation, of feelings, which, to some, strangely seem unmanly, but without which man is not complete. Pride makes us strive to conceal a softness and delicacy, which nature and the providence of God conspire to produce by things and events around us. We cannot yield ourselves up to the influence of natural objects without being softened ; and the natural influence of many of the events of life is to make us tender and gentle. We need not be ashamed of this, for true genius always has a touch of the feminine. Even in those cases, in which the reign of horrid passions has made the heart desolate of every good thing, no sooner does trouble come, than we discover this same attendant of greatness ; as when the frost falls on an evergreen, the vine, which had hid itself in the changeless tree, turns red, and shows itself, in striking contrast to the unyielding green.

But there is danger, to some extent at the present day, of an undue predominance of sentiment in the character and feelings. The pulpit determines the moral sentiments of men, more than any other instrumentality, when the clergy

* Chaucer. (*Melibœus.*)

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are men of proper intellectual and moral influence. The philosophy which they teach, in connexion with religion, pervades the community. They may inculcate a cold, unfeeling system of moral sentiments, and perhaps this is generally the greatest danger. But there is another and an opposite error. By appealing to the religious principle in man, which is intimately associated with the love of the mysterious, it is easy to affect meditative minds with such a passion for spiritualizing, that they will dwell continually in an ideal world. There is a luxury to some in spiritual dreams; a witchery in an imagination, to whose eye new and strange forms of beauty and of supposed truth come forth from common or heretofore unheeded things, investing characters and places with sentimental charms, and making "the sable cloud" of mystery

"Turn out its silvery lining on the night."

It is true enough, that we live in a world where sensitive minds are exposed to painful contact with vulgar people. It is also true, that it is rare to meet with those who are natural and simple in their feelings, who have instinctive and just perceptions of natural beauty, who are artless, and humble, and modest, and free from selfishness. In weariness of the world around them, in the desire for something better than the senses furnish, there is a temptation, with many, to indulge in reveries, and roam in the solitudes of a fanciful creation, and, when they return to every-day life, to feel and think about every thing with a spiritualized habit of mind. The danger from this is a prevailing effeminacy of thought and feeling, and a more exquisite state of the moral sensibilities than is consistent with the absolute duties of life.

We have no sympathy with those who allow no refined sentiments, which are incapable of demonstration by an anatomical knife, or by figures. But when a system of morals, or of natural or revealed religion, is built upon them, and, chiefly, with them, there is cause for alarm. We deplore that austere and unfeeling method of representing religious truth, as though men had no fancy or imagination. He who overlooks these powers, in addressing men, must be strangely ignorant of the history of literature, and the universal sympathy of the human mind with those productions which are characterized by imaginative genius. He must even be igno-

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rant of the Bible, of the chosen method in which the Most High, to a great degree, has seen fit to instruct men. With some, every thing which is brought in as a means accessory to a bare declaration of truth, is undervalued and decried. Strange as the ancient match of Vulcan and Venus may appear to us, we could wish that it were more frequently seen, spiritualized, in many pulpits. We have sometimes heard men, in conversation, find fault, almost contemptuously, with the refinements of thought and speech in preaching, of which they manifestly needed an infusion, to correct their overgrown propensities of another kind. It is a great attainment to have such a knowledge of the human mind, as to be able to address truth to it in accordance with its various susceptibilities to impression. But, while it is unphilosophical to set forth truth in such a form that it can affect only the understanding, it is a worse error to consider the fancy or imagination as the governing power of the mind. The characteristic influence of the former method will be, not to do much good; but of the latter, to do much hurt. For he who practises upon the latter principle, will lead men to disregard the old foundations of truth, and rely upon unsubstantial and visionary sentiments. The young are in danger of this tendency, whether they teach or learn. Many are so fascinated with the charms of beautiful and poetic thought, that they seem like one, who, having for the first time looked through a prism, is so delighted with the rich, gorgeous colors, that the common light is afterwards unsatisfying. They who indulge themselves with excessive sentiment, and those whom they instruct, should remember the words of the wise man; "Hast thou found honey? Eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith and vomit it."

The leading and commanding power of a preacher should, no doubt, be investigation and argument. But let him add to his faith, virtue;— let moral sentiments, and feelings coming from the original depths of the soul, blend with his intellectual conceptions. He is only half a man and half a preacher, if he fails of this. His example and authority for it are the teachings of him, who spake as never man spake. Some, who are earnest in preaching against error, preach truth in such forms, and with such absence of emotion, that their truth is practical error. The studies, the meditations, the devotions, the various scenes, which are incident to the

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Christian ministry, it would seem, are sufficient to make any one ardent in this calling, and to excite and cultivate those emotions, which are the beauty and excellency of an intelligent mind.

The subject of the Memoir before us furnishes an illustration and confirmation of the preceding remarks. He laid the foundations of his mind in severe and patient study. It was his custom, in his early literary pursuits, to search out the principles of what he learned, in a systematic and thorough manner. In after life, when ill health prevented a severe application to books, he realized the benefit of his early self-discipline; for the cursory perusal of a book excited his active and well-trained thoughts, and led him to reflections, which were far different from the dreams of desultory thinkers.

"From this period Mr. Stearns resided, most of the time, for several years, with his parents at Bedford. In the mean while, he was not idle. Retired, in a great measure, from the world, by strict attention to diet and exercise, and by occasional travelling excursions, he was able to give up his mind, with much constancy, to his favorite studies and musings. He projected a work on the Moral Nature of Man, to be comprised in three parts. The subject of the first was Conscience; of the second, The History of Man as a Religious Being; and of the third, the Doctrines and Economy of Revelation. The outlines of the first, after long and patient investigation, were sketched. The subjects of the other two parts were to be, it is presumed, among the principal topics of study in after life."

Such occupations as these, by their effect in making him contented in the places where Providence called him to labor or suffer, illustrate the beneficial tendency of systematic, intellectual pursuits to promote the permanency of the pastoral relation. The valuable works, in theology, of our distinguished divines, would not, and could not, we believe, have been produced, if the modern habits of change in the ministry had prevailed in their day.

Mr. Stearns's power, in his ministerial performances, consisted very much in the moral feelings which were prominent in almost every thing that he said or did. These gave an unction to his performances, which made his public ministrations unusually acceptable and profitable. He seemed

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to act fully on the principle which we have illustrated in our remarks. Self-cultivation, intellectual and moral, was a prominent object of his life. The following resolution, amongst others, was written just before he left the Theological Seminary ;

"Why should we be for ever undoing the work of life ? Why should we wish to be just like everybody else ? I will be myself, and make the best of it. God grant that I may grow better."

In this resolution is undoubtedly contained the secret of all true greatness in mind and character. It is the only principle upon which self-cultivation will result in original, independent power. All the great works in nature, and all those individuals of a family amongst her products which attract our notice, illustrate this principle. But the reason why so many educated minds have so little individuality, no doubt is, an extreme haste to enter upon professional life. Youth and inexperience catch at the nearest examples and helps. In after life, it is difficult to begin the work of original self-cultivation. There is need, that teachers should, to a greater extent, be teachers of the individual, rather than of classes ; and that the pupil, who is past the season of youth, should have a sense of his separateness of character from other minds. We are glad to see, of late, instances in which provision has been made to instruct those who wish to delay their entrance upon the ministry. The result of it, we trust, will be more minds who will shine by their own light.

There seldom has been a deceased friend, of whom we felt more restrained in speaking descriptively and critically, than of Mr. Stearns. There was such individuality of character about him, such a distinctness of feature in his mind, that we retain, to an unusual degree, an impression of his presence with us. What a strange liberty the grave yields us concerning its inmate ! Had a departed friend merely gone across the ocean, though entirely separated from the knowledge of him, we should not think of publishing his life and character. But while we believe him to be, though dead, as fully conscious and active as ever, and perhaps nearer to us than though an ocean were between us, we generally speak as freely of him as though he had ceased to exist. If we felt inclined to do this, on the present occasion, it would be unnecessary, on account of the excellent Memoir, to which

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we have again called the attention of our readers. It is rendered still more valuable, by the addition of a letter from the Rev. Robert Baird of Paris, who saw much of Mr. Stearns while abroad, and particularly within a short time before his death.

We dismiss our notice of the Memoir with strong impressions of the subject of it, as now engaged in pursuing that exalted standard of excellence which he formed on earth. We feel that, with all his generous love for others and admiration of their greatness, he still retains, in a peculiar degree, an individuality of character and of enjoyment, which makes him "a particular star" in the firmament of heaven.

ART. VIII. — *The Adventures of Robin Day*, by the Author of "Calavar," "Nick of the Woods," &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 249 and 267.

WE noticed Dr. Bird's romance of "Calavar" at the time of its appearance, at some length, and in terms of strong commendation.* Since then, we must needs take shame to ourselves for not having made our due contribution to his rising fame. He has been one of the most prolific of our writers, and we take him to be one of the most popular. "Calavar" has, we believe, gone to a third edition, while it has been followed by at least four other publications of equal size and pretension, previous to that which is now before us.

If we were to undertake to discuss the merits of "Robin Day" as a work of art, nobody probably would be more amused by our simplicity than the author. Its plot embraces love, delay, and trouble, misunderstanding, mystery, murder, and at last marriage; and so far it is a novel. But the writer seems to have set himself about it with no more definite plan, than that of getting his hero into a succession of serious and at the same time ridiculous scrapes, each a little worse than the last, and then getting him out of them with as little violation of probability as the limited machinery he has allowed himself admits. There is a competent pro-

* *North American Review*, Vol. XL. pp. 232, *et seq.*

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vision of mutes and make-weights; but the business of the piece is transacted by three characters, or rather by two characters and a hero. The scene, opening in New Jersey, is shifted through Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Tennessee, to Florida, the Creek nation, the Gulf, and Cuba. "Modò me Thebis, modò ponit Athenis." But whithersoever the fated Robin Day betakes himself, to wild or city, camp or blue sea, there is already the haunting demon, Captain Brown, to help him into trouble, and the tutelary demon, Dickey Dare, to help him out of it. With such scant resources as the capacities of these two contraries afford, it cannot be supposed that every thing belonging to the repeated embarrassments and extrications of the hero can be brought about in such a manner as to seem to the reader entirely natural. But we must do the author the justice to say, that he has moved his few pieces admirably well. The reader sees, from the beginning, that he has undertaken to accompany a very unlucky person; but the details of the plot are so well managed, that each new perplexity (at least we can speak for ourselves) takes him by surprise. They come in the proper time and place, but without casting their shadows before.

This is a great charm of the work. Other things in it are excellently well done. The dialogue, with occasional exaggerations in parts designed to be particularly characteristic of the speakers, is on the whole sustained with ease, spirit, and effect. Here and there we find a strain of good-natured satire upon besetting follies of the country and time. As far as we know, the two characters, upon whom alone the writer seems to have bestowed any pains (unless M'Goggin, who appears only in an interlude, is to be considered another of his favorites) are, in some respects, originals. We do not happen to remember, within the range of this department of writing, any other example of a bullying, tyrannical schoolboy, grown up into an adventurer, hot-headed, vain, "jealous in honor," with intelligence enough for the common purposes of a soldier's life, and with no pretensions to any more, like the militia-captain Dare; nor of a scoundrel as unredeemed as any of Lord Byron's worthies, but at the same time light-hearted, taking the world comfortably as he finds it, and ready to do a neighbour a service when nothing is to be got by robbing or murdering him, like the pirate-captain Brown. Some of the descriptions are full of life, and several scenes,

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particularly towards the close, very effectively wrought up. And, what is extremely pleasant to observe, there appears none of that straining after something better than is to be easily had, which in "Calavar" really detracts considerably from the reader's enjoyment. On the contrary, the writer seems everywhere conscious of possessing plenty of such materials as he wants, and bounds joyously through his work.

Robin Day, who lives to tell his own story, is a human waif, who, after a shipwreck on the coast of New Jersey, falls to the share of Mother Moll, a distinguished matron of a neighbourhood of wreckers, he being then an infant about a year old. As soon as he attained to an age to be useful, he was sent out, in stormy nights, to regulate the performance of a decayed horse, who, with his legs tied together, was driven up and down a beach, that, for the benefit of mariners on a lee-shore, his stumbling motion might give to the lantern, hung to his side, the appearance of a light in a vessel in the offing. Such honest employments, together with the retribution which waited upon any remissness in them occasioned by fatigue, cold, or hunger, caused Robin to lead an uncomfortable life; so that, at seven years of age, he was glad to be first stolen, and then bought, from his adopted mother, by a hard character of the name of Day, whose name he consequently took.

Day, otherwise called Duck, was the skipper and owner of a shallop, called the Jumping Jenny, a wrecker and smuggler, and how much worse, few people knew but himself. His ship's company consisted, already, of himself and another; and Robin, advanced to be their cook, to his great joy, (for he had that notion of food, which is expressed in the proverb, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico,") found, before long, that he had no great reason to congratulate himself on the promotion. Five years did he endure all sorts of brutality, till he became, in mind and body, a sort of boy Orson; "a wretched little stunted thing, to appearance not more than nine years old; a picture of raggedness, emaciation, and misery; a creature with no more knowledge, intelligence, or spirit, than a ferryman's horse, or a sick ape." The account of the incident, which brought about his release from this thraldom, is a striking thing in its way. As he sat, one day, upon the bowsprit of the little craft, which lay at anchor, and in which he

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had been left alone, to make preparation for his patron's dinner, a party of youth, in a boat near by, with the amiable instinct of boyhood, employed themselves in pelting him with stones and oyster-shells. One of the missiles inflicted a severe wound, and, at the same time, the graceless urchin, who had launched it, lost his balance and fell into the water, which was deep, with a strong current running.

"The hero of the scene, whose disaster I regarded with sentiments of complacency and approbation, as being nothing more than he deserved for the unprovoked injury he had done me, sunk to the bottom, whence in a moment he came whirling and gasping to the surface, and was swept by the tide against the sloop's cable, which he attempted to seize, but without success; for, though he had hold of it for an instant, he was not able to maintain his grasp. In this state of the adventure, the little fellow was immediately under me, where I sat on the bowsprit; and as the tide swept him from the cable, he looked up to me with a countenance of such terror, and agony, and despair, mingled with imploring entreaty, — though being on the point of strangling, he was neither able to speak nor to cry out, — that I was suddenly struck with feelings of compassion. They were the first human emotions, I believe, that had entered my bosom for years. And such was the strength of them, that, before I knew what I was doing, I dropped into the river, — gander and all, [this he had been busy picking], — to save the poor little rascal from drowning.

"Such a feat did not appear to me either very difficult or dangerous, for I could swim like a duck, and had had extraordinary experience in the art of saving life in the water; not, indeed, that I had ever performed such service for anybody but myself; but, in my own case, I had almost daily occasion; for nothing was more common than for Skipper Duck to take me by the nape of the neck and toss me overboard, even when on the open sea; though the mate always threw me a rope to help me on board again, except when we were becalmed, or at anchor; in which cases, he left me to take care of myself. In the present instance, however, as it proved, the exploit was not destined to be performed without difficulty; for, dropping down with more hurry than forecast, right before the stem, and with a force that carried me pretty deep into the water, I was swept under the shallop's bottom, which, in the effort to rise to the surface, I managed to strike with my head, with a violence that would undoubtedly have finished me, had not that noble excrescence been, in those days, of unusual thickness. The shock was, however, sufficient to stun and

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confound the small quantity of wits I possessed, and to such a degree that I lost my hold of the gander, which, up to this moment, I had clutched with instinctive care; besides which, I was swept, before I had time to recover myself, along the whole of the sloop's bottom; and this being pretty well studded with barnacles, young oysters, and the heads of old nails, I had the satisfaction of enjoying as complete and thorough a keelhauling as was ever administered to any vagabond whatever, my jacket, shirt, and back being scratched all to pieces. Of this, however, as well as of the loss of the gander, I was for a time quite unconscious, being confused by the shock my head had suffered; and the moment I succeeded in passing the rudder, and reaching the surface, I had all my thoughts engaged in rescuing the boy, who had now sunk two or three times, and was, I doubted not, sinking for the last time; for he was quite insensible, when it was my good fortune to reach and seize him by the collar.

"The batteau had, by this time, been borne by the tide against a projecting wharf, whither I easily swam with my charge; and then giving him up to his companions, who had now, by dint of yelling, brought several men to their assistance, I took to my heels, hoping to regain the sloop before Captain Duck, who had gone ashore, should return and discover my absence. My only way of getting on board was that in which I had departed, namely, by swimming; and to this I betook me, by running a little up the stream, and then leaping again into the river.

"My haste, however, was vain; the worthy skipper reaching the vessel an instant before myself; and when, having clambered up by the hawser and bobstay, I succeeded in jumping on deck, I, — who was in such a pickle, what with my clothes torn to shreds, and dripping with water, and the blood trickling down my face, as the reader cannot conceive, — found myself confronted with my tyrant face to face. He gave me a horrible stare of surprise, took one step forward, so as to bring me within reach of his arm, and exclaimed, —

"'You draggle-tailed tadpole! where have you been?' — which question he accompanied with a cuff on the right cheek that tossed me a full fathom to the larboard.

"'Please, Sir,' said I, in as much terror as my stupidity was capable of, — 'overboard, sir.'

"'Overboard, you son of a tinker's cowbell!' cried my master, giving me a cuff with the other hand, that sent me just as far starboard; 'what have you been doing overboard?'

"'Please, Sir, saving boy's life, sir,' returned unhappy I, beginning to be conscious of the enormity of my offence.

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" 'Saving a boy's life, blast my fishhooks!' ejaculated Skipper Duck, knocking me again to larboard; and here I may as well observe, that this was his usual way of conversing with me, or rather of pointing his conversation; his stops being usually but three, a cuff to the right and a cuff to the left, which he alternated with extreme regularity, at every other speech; and a full period, used at the close, by which I was laid as flat as a flagstone. 'Saving a boy's life!' cried the Skipper, boxing me as aforesaid: 'I wish all the boys were in Old Nick's side-pocket, roasting! — Where 's the gander?'

" The gander? ay, *where* was the gander? The question froze my blood. I remembered the loss; by this time the gander was a mile down stream, if not already lodged, in divided morsels, in the capacious jaws of a hundred catfish.

" The skipper noticed my confusion, and his face of a sudden became small, being puckered by a universal frown, that began at forehead and chin and the two ears, and tended to the centre, carrying these several parts before it, till all were blended in a knot of wrinkles scarce bigger than his nose. He stretched forth his hand and took me by the hair, of which I had a mop half as big as my whole body; and giving his arm a slow motion to and from him, like the crank-rod, or whatever they call it, of a locomotive, just as it is getting under way, and making my head, of course, follow in the same line of traverse, thundered in my ears, —

" 'The gander! you twin-born of a horse-mackerel! where 's the gander?'

" 'Please, Sir,' I spluttered out, in a confusion of intellects that was with me extremely customary, — 'boy was overboard, — jumped overboard to save him — '

" 'D — n the boy!' quoth my honest master; 'where 's the gander?'

" 'Please, Sir, jumped overboard,' I repeated; 'got under the keel; knocked head, — senses out, and — and — '

" 'And the gander? blast my fishhooks! the gander?'

" 'Please, Sir; could't help, — 'most drowned, — lost it!'" — Vol. I. pp. 25–29.

The chastisement, which he received for this mishap, was the last to which he was destined from the same quarter. The father of the child whom he had rescued, a worthy and opulent physician, receives him into his family, and undertakes to provide for, and, if possible, humanize him; Captain Duck, meanwhile, having been subjected, by the intelligent indignation of the town's people, to an infliction of keel-haul-

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ing, shaving, tarring, feathering, and banishment, all in pursuance of a sentence of Lynch Law.

Dr. Howard, Robin's patron, places him at school, with the intention of introducing him honorably into life. All things might now seem to be going merry as a marriage-bell. But care, which follows all men to the fleet, follows our hero from it, and he has a dismal story to tell, — though no worse, we suppose, than most others, who were brought up at the same time, — of the treatment he received at the hands of the ingenuous youth, his school-fellows. We have great compassion for brutes, and hold in high respect the principles of Mr. Martin's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. But of all animals, we take the most pitiable, and the most worthy of the attention of the humane, to be the human animal at school in the fighting age; say, from six to fourteen, or later. A friend of ours, who summed up the enjoyments of boyhood in the three particulars of being "washed, and whipped, and sent to school," we think, omitted the chief pleasure of that interesting season. It is that of being whipped *at* school, and this not by the master, — such castigation is fair enough, and what one calculates upon, — but successively by all the boys a little larger, or, worse, a little smaller than one's self. If to be beaten black and blue, when one is not only entirely innocent of any intention of offence, but has been most punctiliously careful not to give it, from a lively sense of the consequences, — if to be thus beaten, day after day, (except at intervals, when a hollow peace may be bought by showing some two-fisted dunce his lessons, or promptly meeting his demands for toys and gingerbread,) were a less evil than it really is, still "little things are great to little men," and to them a drubbing, that does not amount to murder or mayhem, is felt to be a sore discomfort. Nor is that reality, when it comes, any worse, if so bad, as the bitter mortification endured in shrinking from the arbitrament of battle, when it is offered by another youngster, by pushing a chip off the hat, — which was the approved form of challenge in the circle where we bought our experience, — or by scratching a button, which was the method in that of Robin Day. With a profound sensibility, we commend the matter to the attention of some society of our philanthropic age. There is many an association, already making no small figure in its own reports, which would be

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much more usefully employed, if it would transfer its attention to this abuse, from what it actually has in hand. The scheme would offer the great advantage of giving the confederates plenty to do, which some of them seem now chiefly perplexed to find. And, the more such a society should enlarge its list of juvenile members, the better; a statement, which possibly does not hold equally true of all societies which enlist such support.

Robin Day's school-fellows were not only very pugnacious, but, as not uncommonly happens (for there is no sublimated philosopher like your dare-devil), very speculative withal, and ready to go to the death for their theories. Richard Dare, son of a soldier of the Revolution, and leader of one of the parties in the school, — Robin having fought himself, in due time, to the head of the other, — introduces to his mates, in a good stump harangue, the doctrine of school-boys' rights, and illustrates it so happily by analogies drawn from the movements of 1776, as to carry all before him. No sooner said than done. Mr. Burley, bear-keeper to these young hopefuls, having occasion, before long, to chastise their leader, finds, to his cost, that the revolutionary train has been but too well laid.

"'I won't be trounced,' said Dickey Dare, 'except by a vote of the boys; for I goes on the popular principle, and —' But Dickey had not time to finish his sentence; for Burley immediately rushed forward to seize him, which Dickey was fain to avoid by leaping over his desk to the floor; where, being closely followed, he let fly his inkstand, by which he did great damage to the head of one of his schoolmates, without, however, hurting the master, and then dropping like a log on the floor, whereby the autocrat, whose legs he dexterously seized upon, was suddenly overturned, with a shock that left him for a moment quite helpless. 'Now, fellers! — them that ain't cowards, fall on!' cried the hero to his fellow conspirators; who, having been somewhat horrified by the sudden rally of the enemy, now recovered courage, and rushed upon him pell-mell; so that, when he recovered from the shock of his fall, not Gulliver himself, waking from his first nap in Lilliput, was more multitudinously overrun by the bodies, or more hopelessly secured in the toils, of his pigmy foes.

"'Bang away,' roared General Dare, the patriot; 'down goes all tyrants! Freedom and equality for ever! All them that 's got sore bones, pay him up old scores.'

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"Horrible were the din and confusion that now prevailed; and horrible also, for a moment, were the struggles of the downfallen monarch; who, however, being somewhat troubled with an asthma, became, after a time, completely exhausted, and incapable of further resistance; upon which Master Dare demanded handkerchiefs to bind him securely; which being effected, this incomparable putter-down of tyrants snatched up a birchen twig, and dispensed, with uncommon coolness, a dozen thwacks upon the victim's shoulders. Nor did he rest here, but, passing the rod from hand to hand, compelled every member of the new-born republic to administer, in like manner, the same number of blows; which were, in general, laid on with exceeding good will. This being accomplished, he called for three cheers; after which we all took to our heels, leaving the deposed ruler to his meditations."—Vol. I. pp. 55, 56.

If this scene smacks a little of the school-rebellion in "Roderick Random," it has enough that is peculiar to redeem it from the charge of being a copy. The success of the insurgents was altogether beyond their hopes. Not only did they escape that domestic discipline, which they had a fearful looking for, when, dispersed to their several homes, they should lose that security which resides in union, but, most of their parents being, like themselves, of a thoughtful turn, and suspicious of time-fortified prejudices, they unexpectedly found themselves exercising what recent discoveries have shown to be the rightful prerogative of youth,—that of being leaders in a great revolution of opinion. The late successful rising against oppression commanded a wide sympathy with the principles on which it had proceeded.

"It set the town people to discussing the merits of the flogging system of education; which, being now brought under consideration for the first time, was pronounced by the majority entirely unsuited to the character and genius of a republican people; whose children, it was demonstrated, ought to be brought up with the highest ideas of personal independence and honor, of freedom and equality, which the tyranny of the rod must inevitably beat out of their tender spirits. To subject them to the sway of a despot in youth, was to prepare them for slavery in their riper years, to render them the ready prey of any designing demagogue, who might aim at the liberties of the people. In short, this question, (there being a minority opposed to the new doctrine,) produced a furious ferment in the town, and would, I doubt not, in time, have resulted in

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an entire change in the State government (for it was fast assuming a political aspect), when it was put an end to by the minority yielding the point, and agreeing with the others, that the Academy should thenceforth be governed on republican principles, — that is, that there should be no more flogging." — Vol. i. p. 58.

The scheme, however, did not work so well in practice, as it looked in principle. The first master was discouraged, and took leave in a fortnight's time. A second, who was more persevering, discovered, that it was not a question of liberty, but of who should be master, and, because he might not use force, had to terminate his sway, or rather his fraternization, by a forcible expulsion. The third, says Robin,

" met the views of all concerned, being a very amiable, indolent personage, who agreed the more readily to adopt the republican system, as he had just brains enough to perceive it would save him a vast deal of trouble. He seemed very well content we should do as we pleased, get our lessons when we liked, and as we liked, come in and go out, laugh, talk, play, fight, or do any thing else, just as we thought proper ; a degree of forbearance that won our entire love and respect, which we were accustomed to show by peppering him, whenever he was in a brown study, with potato popguns and showers of ripe elder-berries ; by emptying the ink bottle on his chair, when he appeared in white trowsers, and strewing it with pin caltrops when in brown ; and by sundry other innocent tricks, wherewith tender juvenals delight to show their affection. These little freedoms, it is true, sometimes drove him into a passion, when he scolded at us with great energy and emphasis ; but they gave him no disgust at the school, in which he might have perhaps remained the president to this day, had it not been for a discovery made by some busy bodies, which brought his administration to a close, after six months' sway, and wrought somewhat of a change in public opinion on the subject of the new system.

" The discovery was, that, under the said system, learning was at a stand-still, the boys having actually advanced in nothing but mischief during all that period. The system was again brought under discussion ; the minority, who had originally opposed it, repeated their denunciations ; and, after another squabble, which, at this time, bade fair to shake even the National government, (so hot, furious, political, and patriotic were the passions it excited,) our enemies prevailed, and schoolboy rights and schoolboy glory fell for ever.

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"It was now urged, that the best way to bring up the boys of a republic in detestation of tyrants, was to put tyrants over them during their school-days, and thwack them into a thorough appreciation of the horrors and inconveniences of oppression. In short, it was agreed, that the *ancien régime* should be restored, and the birch used as before; or, at least, so far as was necessary to help us along with our books, and keep us on our best behaviour." — Vol. I. pp. 60, 61.

But *facilis descensus; revocare gradum, hic labor.* It is not easy to bend those to the yoke, who have once tasted the sweets of freedom. One teacher after another was made to know, by woful experience, what doom he merits, who would shackle the movements of the free-born soul. At length the exigency became extreme; and the trustees, adopting as usual the policy of seeking refuge from the intolerable brutishness of many in the barely tolerable brutishness of one, are fain to commit their interesting charge to the supervision of a sort of Irish Ogre, whose introduction to his "delightful task" is thus described.

"We were assembled at the Academy door, comparing accounts, when the new President was pointed out by one who had seen him before, crossing the street to a turnstile, which led into the schoolhouse green, through a fence full five feet high. We all pronounced him a giant, and some one said, he looked as if he could 'walk over the fence like nothing'; a declaration, which, though made in jest, was justified by the event; for the gentleman, neglecting the stile, either because he did not see it, or scorned to pass by a mode so humble and common-place, suddenly leaped into the air and over the fence, without so much as laying his hands upon it; which, indeed, he could not do, both hands being occupied by two mysterious-looking bundles, the nature of which, at that distance, we could not make out. The facility with which he performed this wondrous feat, as if it were a matter of every day's occurrence, and the appearance he had in the air, so like a fiery dragon or a flying dromedary, struck a kind of terror into the youthful republicans, who looked upon one another with blank visages; and then, as Mr. M'Goggin drew nigh, slunk away silently into the school, and betook them to their seats.

"In a moment more, M'Goggin entered; and we then saw that the two bundles he carried were composed of goodly birchen twigs, there being at least a gross of them altogether; and this sight, it may be supposed, did not banish the chill of

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our first impressions. These odious emblems of rule, carried on his shoulders like the fasces of a Roman lictor, he bore to the master's desk, situated on a platform ; which having ascended, he turned upon us the light of his countenance, and roared (for his voice was like the bellow of a bull) in tones that made the glasses rattle, and, I might almost add, some of our bones into the bargain, — 'Good morrow till ye, ye spalpeens ! I'm your masther and t'acher, — Get up and make me a bow, to show your good manners.'

"Now, whether it was that there was electricity in his tones, or that we were all willing to prove we were well-bred young gentlemen, it is very certain that every soul in school, at these words, bounced up and fell to scraping and ducking with the utmost civility ; which being done, the invader, dropping down upon his chair, roared out again, before we could follow his example and resume our seats, which we were about to do, — 'Stand at aise ! — as ye are, ye rapperees, 'till I lay down the law till ye ! '

"In this, also, he was obeyed ; though I cannot say any of us actually stood at our ease, but, on the contrary, we remained casting wild and anxious glances one upon another, as if doubting whether we had not of a sudden got some dangerous nondescript animal, instead of a new preceptor, among us. But the gentleman gave us no time for pondering. 'Now, ye blackguards ! ' he cried, 'listen to my spache, and remimber it every letther ; and him that doesn't, belave me, I'll have the skin of him. D'ye hear, ye vagebones ! Now, thin, I'm tould ye're an iligant set of Divil's imps, one an' all, that knows nayther manners, nor obadience, nor dacency of behaviour ; but, arrah, ye divils, look me in the face, till I tell ye what I am of *meself*, that is the masther over ye ! '

"Every eye was at once obediently turned upon the gentleman, who, with furious voice and hideous contortions of countenance, like a bulldog taking physic, continued ;

"'Be the powers, I'm nothing at all at all, only jist the gentleman that will bate the wickedness out of ye ! D'ye hear that, ye rapscallions ? '

"And with that, Mr. M'Goggin, whose ire seemed to rise at the sound of his own voice, jumped up again ; and flourishing his birches, a whole bundle at a time, again burst forth ; 'D'ye want to be licked, ye divils ? I'm tould, ye're grand fighting ganiuses. But d'ye want it ? Does any of ye want it ? If so, spake ; spake up like big little fellows, any of ye ; for, be my sowl, I 'm itching to begin wid ye ! '

"This harangue, or rather defiance, for it was nothing less, the horrid fellow concluded by marching round the room, and

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prying into every countenance, as if for the purpose of finding some one disposed to try conclusions with him; and it is wonderful with what pacific modesty every eye was cast to the floor, the moment Mr. M'Goggin stood before its possessor. Even General Dicky Dare, who, we thought, could face old Nick himself, was observed to become so studious and intent upon a sum he was working on his slate, as the Gorgon passed, as to be quite unable to lift his eyes up to it. In short, we were all very peaceably inclined that morning, and stood the challenge with patience, — because, as we agreed, as soon as we got out of school, Mr. M'Goggin was a stranger, and it was not worth while to quarrel with him at the first introduction. Besides, as we also concluded, it would be just as well to wait awhile, to know what sort of a person he was.

"In this particular, Mr. M'Goggin did all he could to gratify us, by laying open his characteristics as fast as possible. I should rather say, his characteristic, for he had but one; and that was a raging desire to get an opportunity to trounce some of us. He sat upon the watch all day long, birch in hand, threatening, fifty times an hour, if a boy did but look up, or scratch his head, or drop a book, or stir on his seat, or do, in fact, any thing at all, to 'bate' him, if he did that again; and as we were all too intent upon the study of his characteristics, as above, to think of giving him such an opportunity of quarrelling with us, it so happened, that, for five whole days, to the infinite astonishment of the whole town, we were the best behaved boys that were ever seen in a school-room." — Vol. I. pp. 64 – 67.

But we have not space to undertake to follow our hero much further in his adventures, either at school, or after his emancipation from it, and entrance upon what people pretend to call more active life. The star of his ill-luck regains the ascendant, and he becomes unintentionally involved in a conspiracy against M'Goggin, in which that formidable teacher is believed to have come to his end, and Robin, under the heavy displeasure of his patron, (who, however, makes every generous provision for his safety and comfort,) has to flee for his life. Pursuing his way, by night, with his comrade, Richard Dare, they are stopped by a food-pad, at whom the latter discharges a pistol, and they escape, leaving him upon the road. The report frightens their horses, which, becoming unmanageable, compel them to part company. Robin brings up among a party of wagoners, who disperse in search of the robber, and in good time come back with him to the inn,

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where Robin, meanwhile, had been recovering his breath and his courage.

"He was a stout, sinewy, middle-aged man, dressed like a sailor, with a tarpaulin knapsack on his back, a new blue cloth jacket, and old canvass trowsers, exceedingly well daubed with pitch, and no hat or cap, that covering having been lost in the scuffle. He had a most savage countenance, covered with whiskers, beard, and hair, all black and grizzled, with a swarthy skin, that was now, owing to faintness and loss of blood, of a cadaverous leaden color; and there were drops of blood on his forehead, coming from some wound on the head, and a more plentiful besprinkling on his shirt, that added to the grimness and ferocity of his appearance.

"The roughness with which he had been dragged from the road had stirred up the latent powers of life; and he was beginning to rouse from his insensibility, as the wagoners brought him into the room, vociferating a thousand triumphant encomiums upon their own courage, and as many felicitations upon the prospect they thought they had, both of being rewarded by the Governor of the State for apprehending such a desperate villain, and of seeing him hanged into the bargain. Being in such a happy mood, they agreed with great generosity to treat their prisoner to a glass of grog, with a view of enlivening his spirits and recalling his wits; and this, being accordingly presented, and immediately swallowed with great eagerness, had the good effect of restoring him at once to his faculties. This he made apparent by suddenly bending an eye of indignant inquiry on his captors, who held him fast by the collar, and by exclaiming, in corresponding tones,—'Sink my timbers, shipmates! do you intend to murder, as well as rob me?'

"This address, which filled them with surprise, the wagoners answered by telling him, 'they were no robbers, but *he* was, as he should find to his cost;' a charge that, to my amazement, the honest man, instead of admitting in full, repelled with furious indignation, swearing that, instead of being a robber, he had himself just been robbed by a brace of rascally land-rats on the road under their noses,—plundered of a huge store of prize-money, the gains of a whole year of fighting, which he was carrying to his wife and children in Philadelphia, and knocked on the head into the bargain; that he would have the blood of the villains, whom he could swear to, and would pursue to the ends of the earth; and if they, the wagoners, were honest fellows, and loved a sailor that had been fighting their battles on the stormy seas, they would help

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him to catch the rascals, instead of jawing him like a thief and a pirate,—they would, split him.

"This address, delivered with matchless effrontery, and with an air of injured and insulted innocence quite indescribable, had the effect of staggering several of the captors, who evidently began to think they had made a mistake; while others laughed it to scorn; and one of them called me forward (for I had kept, from modesty and fear, in the background) to confront the fellow; which I did, though with no good heart, having a great dread of his ferocious looks. But, however terrible the robber appeared in my eyes, I, it seems, possessed an appearance equally alarming in his; for no sooner had he caught sight of me, than he roared out, 'That 's one of the land-sharks, sink me!' and starting back, with the air of one endeavouring to overcome a fit of trepidation, called upon some of the company to give him a pistol or cutlass, and upon the others to 'hold the villain fast, for he could swear his life against me.'

"I was confounded at this sally; and, as the sailor had every appearance of being in earnest, and the wagoners looked as if vastly inclined to believe his story, I began to have my doubts whether I was not a robber in reality. To complete my confusion, the innkeeper now swore '*he* had had his suspicions of me from the first,' and said, I ought to be searched for the sailor's money. A furious contention arose among the wagoners, some insisting that I was, others that I was not, the robber; the former arguing my innocence from the fact of my coming of my own accord into their camp; while the others, among whom was the man upon whose back I had been pitched, declared the visit was not voluntary, but that I had been thrown among them by my horse, entirely against my will, and had invented the story of my having been robbed, only to prevent their arresting me as the robber.

"And during all this time, the real Simon Pure, the highwayman himself, kept up a terrible din, calling me a thief and pirate, demanding a weapon, insisting that the wagoners should hold me fast; and, in the midst of all his rage, discovering so much disinclination to come within arm's length of me, who was, on my part, ready to swoon with dismay, that some of the company were scandalized at his cowardice; which was the more remarkable in one of his age and warlike profession, and assured him 'the little boy,' as they contemptuously termed me, 'would not eat him.'

"Encouraged, or pretending to be encouraged, by this assurance, (for the crafty knave was merely playing a part,) he threw aside his fear, seized me by the collar, and gave me a

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furious shaking, overwhelming me with denunciations and maledictions; and the others of the company, moved by the same imitative impulse, which, when one dog of a village attacks a currish visitant, leads all the other dogs of the town to set upon the stranger, in like manner, fell upon me likewise; so that I thought I should have been shaken to death among them.

"It was in vain I remonstrated, and protested my own innocence and the guilt of the sailor. The latter worthy grew more furious and determined every moment; and, finding that I had a horse at the door, he carried his audacity to the pitch of claiming him as his own, or rather as his captain's, which, he said, he was carrying to Philadelphia for his commander; swore I had knocked him off that very beast's back, and then run off with him; and ended by jumping upon Bay Tom's back, and riding immediately off, for the purpose, as he said, of hunting up my accomplice, 'the other villain,' who had made off with his prize-money; in which undertaking he invited the assistance of the wagoners, promising a handsome reward to any who should help him to a sight of the pirate. This induced two or three of them to mount their horses; and I had the satisfaction of seeing the scoundrel, whose unparalleled impudence had thus carried him through, gallop away with my patron's horse, leaving me a prisoner in his place."—Vol. i. pp. 109–113.

The reader has here his first taste of the quality of the pirate Captain Brown, who exercises the most sinister influence on our hero's fortunes through the whole of the tale. Robin drops from the window of a garret, where it was arranged to confine him till there should be an opportunity to deliver him up to justice, and makes his way on foot to Philadelphia, from the sharpers of which city, its negroes, and, above all, its wits, he suffers multitudinous annoyance. To the last class belonged a tobacconist, whose shop he visited to provide himself with the means of protection against the second, who would give him no room upon the sidewalks.

"Upon my demanding if he had any very strong snuff, he replied, with a grin,—'he had some so strong the box wouldn't hold it;' and, when I told him of my mishap with the pottery, he declared, that 'that was only a way of taking pot-luck uninvited.' He consoled me for the imposition practised upon me with the four notes, by saying that, 'whatever we might think of them, they were undoubtedly counterfeit,—which he supposed, in plain English, meant fit for the coun-

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ter.' In short, this happy personage astounded me by a multitude of quibbles, which he produced as a hen does her eggs, with a furious cackle after each; and then dismissed me with my box of snuff, which, its violence setting me sneezing as I left the door, he declared was, nevertheless, 'not to be sneezed at.' "— Vol. I. p. 126.

Going in search of Mr. Bloodmoney, to whom his patron had furnished him with a letter, intended to procure him an opportunity of going to sea, he falls in with a person, who in reply to his request to be directed to Mr. Bloodmoney's house, assumes that gentleman's name, and helps himself to the letter, and to its contents of bank notes. This is no other than a second appearance of Captain Brown. Brown, personating Bloodmoney, guides Robin late at night to the latter's house, which they enter together by means of a key, produced by Brown, he enjoining silence upon Robin, that they may not disturb his invalid wife.

Robin, in short, begins his career of city life by being unintentionally a burglar. No harm, however, comes of the adventure at present, to either of the parties. Each makes an escape on his own account, Robin charging himself to take a lesson from his grievous mishap, and be very circumspect about trusting fair-seeming men again. His "vaulting ambition" of prudence for this time "o'erleaps its sell." He is overtaken by John Dabs, the constable of Dr. Howard's town, who, by reason of his skill in finding the track of people who would rather not be followed, has been sent after him by that gentleman, to inform him, that M'Goggin's life is in no danger, and invite him to return home. Satisfied that Dabs has but come to inveigle him by this story into the hands of justice, he uses vast address to put that officer off his guard, and, getting out of his way on the first opportunity, congratulates himself past measure on this achievement of his dear-bought sagacity.

Full of patriotism and valor, Robin Day repairs to the neighbourhood of the Chesapeake, — it was at the time of the prodigious exploits of Admiral Cockburn, in that bay, in the last war, — and, falling in with a military party, in motion for an engagement, promptly volunteers, not finding out, till he is already in action, that he has enlisted on the wrong side. He is conveyed on board a vessel of the British fleet, and, liking better to be still a volunteer than a prisoner of war,

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takes up with the former character till he shall find an opportunity to escape. At Havre de Grace, in a spasmodic endeavour to run away, he gets the credit of fighting with desperate bravery. At Craney Island he has better luck, so far as to reëstablish himself upon American ground, though at the risk, when recognised, of being tried by a court-martial for treason; a *désagrément*, from which he is only saved by the interposition of his old friend, Captain Dare, who turns out to be one of the heroes of that well-fought day, and who dismisses him in safety, but with a volley of contumelious reproaches, of the most patriotic description.

A third time a fugitive for unintended felony, Robin Day is accosted in the woods by Captain Brown. Misfortune, which "makes strange bed-fellows," makes equally strange travelling companions. They set out together on their forlorn pilgrimage; and Robin, before he knows what he has undertaken for, finds himself concerned with Brown in the itinerant practice of the healing art, — a new style of the *médecin malgré lui*, — he, in the character of an East Indian conjuror, prescribing medicines which Brown administers. The adventure ends by his being sold, under his Indian disguise of a dark complexion, to a Virginia planter, who pays Brown an enormous price for him, in consideration of his marvellous skill.

From this difficulty, and various others beyond, the author successfully extricates him. Those who would see how he does it, we must refer to the volumes themselves, which, we repeat, they will find spirited and amusing in no common degree. The story of the "Bloody Volunteers" of Tennessee, to the command of whom Captain Dare advances himself by force of his military virtues, is told with genuine humor, and the conception of incidents at sea, towards the close of the story, is marked with power of a different and higher kind.

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Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *An Address at the Annual Cattle Shows of the Worcester, and the Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin Agricultural Societies, October*, 1838. By Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston : Otis, Broaders, & Company. 8vo. pp. 23.

Agriculture, the first pursuit of civilized man, has been the last to receive the direct attention and patronage of governments. Commerce, navigation, manufactories, the mechanic and fine arts, science and letters, had commanded much respect, and reached high degrees of excellence, before the cultivation of the earth, either for the purposes of profit or embellishment, found favor among the affluent and enlightened, or was deemed an object worthy of the careful consideration of statesmen and legislators. But, when nations have reached an advanced position in prosperity and refinement, and other more attractive or lucrative branches of industry have been so extended, as to employ a large portion of the population, an immensely increased amount of products is required, to meet the augmented demand of consumption ; and the necessity of rendering the earth more prolific becomes so apparent, that what had been improvidently neglected, and was, in fact, the most substantially momentous interest of the country, at last imperiously commands the most grave consideration.

As the commercial and mechanical enterprise and capacity of England began to be rapidly developed after the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, the demand for subsistence became so much greater than the domestic supply, that vast quantities of wheat were annually imported, until, by bounties, and an improved system of tillage, the wheat crops of the island were so much increased, as not only to be sufficient for the supply of all the inhabitants, but to become a staple of exportation.

Still there was not that general and strong interest excited, for advancing the science and art of agriculture, which has been so conspicuously evinced within the last fifty years, before the great land proprietors actively coöperated for collecting and diffusing intelligence throughout every portion of the kingdom ; for, although there had been several eminent writers on rural economy, from Fitzherbert, in 1534, down to the practical and admirable Tull, in 1730, whose successful

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experiments and valuable treatise form an era in the history of British tillage, very few of the actual cultivators of the soil bestowed any attention on the literature of their profession, till Marshall, Young, Anderson, Bakewell, and Sinclair became distinguished, by their numerous, interesting, and invaluable publications.

But the greatest, and perpetually operating, impulse was given by the establishment of a Board of Agriculture in 1793, when *Surveys* of all the counties in England were immediately undertaken, in conformity to a method, which had been suggested by Marshall, several years before, to the Society of Arts in London. The reports of the several commissioners being very voluminous, as they contained exact details relating to practical operations in every department of rural economy, digests were made, to render them more available, by the indefatigable projector and collaborator in the execution of this enlarged and efficient plan for advancing the important interests of the whole country. But even in that reduced form, with the other materials which he had individually collected during a period of nearly twenty years, which had been devoted to the subject, for compiling "a Compendious System of English Agriculture," the work consists of fourteen volumes.

The expenditures of Great Britain having rapidly and immensely increased, from the commencement and during the progress of the war which followed the French revolution, and nearly half of the whole revenue being derived from direct taxes and the excise, it became of still greater consequence to the land-owners and their tenants, from whom that vast amount of income was chiefly received, to render each acre more productive, by the introduction of every possible improvement in the science and art of cultivation, which genius and skill could create or introduce, from the practice of any other age or country. Interest, knowledge, and industry were, therefore, actively and zealously united in a common cause, and the beneficial results have been truly wonderful. With a territory, whose area is not a third, and whose population is only half, that of France, and with a soil and climate not so propitious, the agricultural products of England are quadruple those of that empire. This astonishing difference is owing entirely to the superior methods of tillage, which have been so successfully extended over the whole island, and have rendered it the most perfectly cultivated, prolific, and beautifully embellished domain, in all the appropriate appendages which a refined taste in ornamental planting can devise and execute, that has existed at any period in the history of the human race; while, in large portions of France, as well as Spain, Portugal, and many

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of the Italian States, no favorable change has been introduced since the time of Virgil, and the implements, as well as the whole process of management, in rural affairs, is that described by the Roman bard. But, within fifteen or twenty years, the government of France has made highly commendable exertions to elevate the character and condition of its rustic population, by the establishment of agricultural and horticultural societies, experimental farms and gardens, the introduction of new plants, and awarding premiums for valuable experiments in all those departments of national industry.

The same enlightened and patriotic spirit, which induced many of the most intelligent and eminent men in Great Britain to combine in an application to Parliament, to aid them in measures for facilitating their honorable efforts to render the labors of the farmer more profitable to himself and more useful to the country, was simultaneously evinced in this Commonwealth, and with like happy consequences. The "Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture" was incorporated soon after that which was established in England; and the example has been emulously followed in most of the counties throughout the State, while all have been encouraged and fostered by the seasonable and liberal endowments of the government. Much has been thus accomplished within the present century; but, acting from a yet more enlarged and generous policy, the executive and legislature of the Commonwealth, with a munificence which reflects upon them the greatest honor, directed, two years since, an agricultural survey of each county to be made; and a gentleman was appointed, as the commissioner for performing that difficult and laborious duty, who, from his attainments, industry, ardor, and practical experience, was eminently qualified for the station.

This may undoubtedly with propriety and justice be considered one of the most important measures, that have been adopted since the organization of the government; for it is immediately interesting, and must be directly beneficial, not only to every citizen who depends upon the cultivation of the earth for his support, but to the whole population, of which the farming class constitutes at least seven tenths, being, at the same time, the grand nursery and constant source of supply for filling all the other diversified occupations in society.

With a soil naturally as capable of tillage, and to as high a degree of perfection, as that of any other region, Massachusetts has been dependent on other States, for a large portion of the most indispensable products of agriculture, which are annually consumed; not from a deficiency of territory, for, compared with the population, ours is double that of England, — nor because

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it is not capable of yielding a sufficient quantity to meet the demand; but mainly from an imperfect system of husbandry, and the general disinclination of the people to submit to the quiet, noiseless, apparently slow and doubtful process of acquiring an ample, independent support, by a perpetual cultivation of the earth. Besides these adverse causes, commerce, navigation, the fisheries, manufactories, the mechanical arts, and the mighty tide of emigration have made rapidly increasing drafts from the agricultural population, and thus produced a continually augmenting difference, between those who consume and those who produce, which has long since made it indispensable to expend the wealth acquired from other sources of income in procuring supplies from other parts of the Union; and ultimately, so great became the disparity between the supply and the demand, that, as a nation, we have been compelled to resort to foreign countries for the first necessaries of life.

It is our duty, then, to make every possible exertion to avert such alarming conjunctures in future; for no nation can be said to be truly independent, and secure in its position and institutions, which is not at all times, and under all circumstances, fully capable of furnishing food and raiment, and whatever else is requisite, for the support and comfort of the whole people.

From the first report made by Mr. Colman, there is ample testimony to warrant the assertion, that Massachusetts is capable of yielding more than triple the amount of agricultural products, which have hitherto been obtained. There is not a county, which the commissioner has visited, that has not presented examples of tillage, and experiments in all the branches of New England culture, which fully illustrate the immense advantages, that are derivable from a skilful application of science to the practical arts of husbandry. This verified and consequently most useful of all kinds of knowledge, but which has been confined within very limited and far separated circles, will hereafter be as universally possessed, through the medium of the reports on each county, as that which has been collected and published on every other subject connected with human industry; and the whole, when completed, in the lucid, exact, and satisfactory manner, in which the first has been presented, will, allowing for the extent of territory surveyed, form the most accurate and valuable agricultural cyclopædia, which has appeared in any country. It will include the actual operations of each individual, who has best perfected that portion of rural economy to which his attention had been most exclusive-

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ly directed, from the nature of the soil, and geographical position as respects a market.

Hitherto, all the publications which have appeared on agriculture, have been principally compilations from the various treatises that have been written on that all-important subject, since the period of the illustrious Columella ; and, however laborious may have been the authors, and ingenuously faithful in design, or desirous of producing a work, which might the most perfectly subserve the purposes of the region of country for which it was intended, it is notorious, to every experienced and well instructed farmer and gardener, that they have invariably failed to accomplish, what had been so confidently anticipated ; and it is evident, to even the most superficial observer, that there is no other mode of concentrating, in a really useful form, the requisite information, for the general guidance of the uninstructed as well as experienced cultivators of the earth, and of enabling them to participate in the advantages which have been derived from the most approved methods of conducting the multifarious labors of a farm, than that, which has fortunately been undertaken by the government of Massachusetts, and which, from what has already been done, we have the fullest confidence will be thoroughly executed. Each of the most skilful and enlightened experimentalists, whose results will be given in the reports of the Agricultural Commissioner, must have consulted the most celebrated authors, and to some extent taken them as guides, for directing them in their diversified operations ; and the benefits obtained will be at the command of every citizen.

The agricultural survey is but the continuation and completion of a system, which has been projected for obtaining accurate information, as to the physical geography, topography, natural history, and general statistics of the Commonwealth. Massachusetts has been the first, of all the States in the Union, to cause a correct map to be constructed, based on the triangulation of its whole area, which involves astronomical observations for establishing the latitude and longitude of the most remarkable features and positions, and which, from the difficulties and expense to be encountered, has been applied only in France and Great Britain, to include a whole nation. Happily, however, for the navigation of the United States, the same operation is in progress, under the direction of the national government, for forming complete hydrographical charts of the coast from Passamaquoddy to the Sabine.

Connected with these important labors, a geological survey was undertaken, which has been most ably completed by Professor Hitchcock ; and the other departments of natural his-

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tory, including the animal and vegetable realms, have been directed to be explored, and the duty has been confided to several scientific gentlemen, from whom may be expected full and interesting accounts of the quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, and plants, which are peculiar to the State.

These works will be honorable monuments of the enlightened and expanded views of the legislature, reflect lasting honor upon the chief magistrates, under whose direction they have been so successfully prosecuted, and entitle the enlightened and meritorious gentlemen, who have participated in the very responsible labors, to the respect and gratitude of the present and all future generations.

We have indulged so far in the general remarks, which the very interesting subject of agriculture has suggested, that there is left only sufficient space to commend to the real friends of the country the instructive Address, which the Agricultural Commissioner delivered, before the assembled yeomanry of several of the interior counties, during the last autumn. It is an impressive appeal to the farmers, urging them strenuously to endeavour to render their condition as prosperous and happy as their pursuits are respectable and important, by renewed efforts in the acquisition of intelligence, and to illustrate, by example, how independent and deserving of the highest consideration are those, who zealously emulate the hardy virtues and rural industry of their adventurous Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

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2. — *The Law Reporter.* Edited by P. W. Chandler. Boston : Weeks, Jordan, & Company. 1839. Vol. I. Nos. 1 – 12. pp. 370.

The main object of this work, as originally announced, is to give to the legal profession a monthly condensed report of the most important cases decided in the Superior Courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction in the United States, whether *in bank*, or at *nisi prius*. To these are added digests of such contemporary English cases as are deemed interesting to American lawyers ; brief accounts of the principal legislative acts in the several States ; critical notices of new legal publications ; obituary notices of distinguished jurists ; and a miscellaneous head of essays and intelligence on legal subjects. The plan, thus sketched, has been executed, in all its departments, with much ability and tact, by the industrious editor, in the twelve numbers composing his first volume ; and, as

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we judge, in a manner completely successful. Such a work had long been called for by the profession in this country ; and may well be supposed as essential here as in England, where "The Legal Observer," a periodical on a similar plan, has already reached its seventeenth volume. The volume before us is said to contain upwards of one hundred cases not before published ; and the editor numbers among his correspondents some of the most eminent of our judges and lawyers, of whose articles it has been remarked, that, while they add greatly to the value of the work, they prove the sense which these gentlemen entertain of its merits and character. We deem this a valuable aid to the cause of legal science ; which seems at present to be cultivated in this country with a freedom, liberality, and zeal, not surpassed in that from which the elements of our jurisprudence are derived.

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3. — *The Teacher, or Moral Influence employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young*. New Stereotype Edition, with an Additional Chapter on "the First Day in School." By Jacob Abbott, Late Principal of the Mt. Vernon Female School, Boston, Mass. Boston : Published by Whipple & Damrell. 1839.

Among the endless variety of systems and plans for education, it is comfortable to think, that bright scholars and excellent men have come out from under the most unpromising regimen, and have often formed themselves without any rule or system whatever. This is not saying, however, that all systems are equally good, or that it is matter of no consequence what system is pursued. And, whatever plan is determined on, it ought to propose, as the most important preparatory step, to teach a child the habit of fixing his attention for a certain time upon a certain thing ; and this, not because it is particularly pleasant, or attractive in itself, though care should be taken that it should not be made unnecessarily otherwise. When a child finds, that, by giving his attention for a very short time to a given subject, either the letters which make a word, or any thing else, he conquers a difficulty, and fixes the word or the number in his mind, he enjoys the pleasure of successful labor, and has learned a lesson he will not forget. He will be willing to make a similar effort the next day ; and, by patiently going on in this way, a good habit of study will be formed, with very little time spent at each separate trial.

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This of course can be done best at home, where the hours and moments are under the teacher's control, and where, the moment the point is gained, the child can be set at entire liberty. It forms a most excellent preparation for school ; as the pupil, having learned the art of application, and having been taught in this way to study, will be able to enter with pleasure into the routine of the school, the operations of which, however, should be varied as much as possible, since young children so soon weary of real application.

Even at school, however, something like this sort of training would not be impracticable. If the teacher could devote the time which he spends in hearing a class spell, for instance, to hearing the pupils which compose it, each in succession, spell the words from the book, two or three times, (and it would hardly take longer to do this, than to hear the words boggled over and passed down the class as is often the ease,) the time would be better spent, and the children would know more about the words, than if they had sat in the usual listless way over their books for an hour. After this exercise, the books might be put away, and the attention of the children turned to something else ; and they would thus escape the danger of getting listless, idle habits, which are so apt to follow the usual methods of studying in school. They know that they must stay there a certain time, whether they are idle or not, and they know that they must hold the book and try to study till the time comes to recite ; and they learn to make the best of the matter, and amuse themselves as well as they can in looking round the school, and taking notice how others are occupied.

When this habit of fixing the attention is formed and forming, a good exercise for it is, to strengthen the memory by getting things by heart, as we say. This practice has been abused, and it is not uncommon, at the present time, to hear the attempt to store the memory with words and facts spoken of with disapprobation. But the great facility children have in committing things to memory seems to show, that nature has intended some use should be made of this power in early life. There are many things of a mechanical and technical kind, which it is very important to have fixed in the mind, which, learned in childhood, are never forgotten, and which are acquired much easier in early childhood than in after life. And this very acquisition strengthens the memory. A person, who expects to have a great treasure poured in upon him, is not thought unwise to prepare a commodious receptacle for it, and to strengthen it by every means in his power, that he may be able to receive and retain his treasure as it comes to him ; and a well-trained memory, filled in early youth, when acqui-

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sitions are easily made, with a valuable store of words and facts, will not be found a bad foundation for almost any superstructure which it may be desirable to raise upon it.

Mr. Abbott's work will be found a very valuable aid in the great work of education. It contains a record of the experience of a careful, conscientious, and highly successful teacher of youth. His views are illustrated by real and imaginary examples, showing the effects of his system. The book contains a description of the method of conducting the Mount Vernon Street school, from which much assistance, and many valuable hints on the subject of education may be drawn. Mr. Abbott says ;

"There is perhaps no way, by which a writer can more effectually explain his views on the subject of education, than by presenting a great variety of actual cases, whether real or imaginary, and describing particularly the treatment he would recommend in each. This method of communicating knowledge is very extensively resorted to in the medical profession, where writers detail particular cases, and report the symptoms and the treatment for each succeeding day, so that the reader may almost fancy himself actually a visiter at the sick bed, and the nature and effects of the various prescriptions become fixed in the mind, with almost as much distinctness and permanency as actual experience would give." — p. 242.

Mr. Abbott's plan of giving, every hour or half hour, a recess in the school from labor, in which speaking, and moving about the room for two or three minutes are permitted, is an arrangement which must prove highly useful both to the teacher and pupils, by sparing the former the annoyance of individual applications, and refreshing the latter by changing the positions of the body and the operations of the mind. He describes at length the operation of this rule, and the apparatus by which it was regulated.

The advice in the following quotation is truly admirable.

"Never get out of patience with dulness. Perhaps I ought to say, never get out of patience with any thing. That would perhaps be the wisest rule. But, above all things, remember that dulness and stupidity, and you will certainly find them in every school, are the very last things to get out of patience with. If the Creator has so formed the mind of a boy, that he must go through life slowly and with difficulty, impeded by obstructions which others do not feel, and depressed by discouragements which others never know, his lot is surely hard enough, without having you to add to it the trials and sufferings, which sarcasm and reproach from you, can heap upon him. Look over your schoolroom, therefore, and, wherever you find one whom you perceive the Creator to have endued with less intellectual power than others, fix your eye upon him with an expression of kindness and sympathy. Such a boy will have suffering enough from the selfish tyranny of his companions; he ought to find in you a pro-

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tector and friend. One of the greatest pleasures which a teacher's life affords, is the interest of seeking out such an one, bowed down with burdens of depression and discouragement, unaccustomed to sympathy and kindness, and expecting nothing for the future but a weary continuation of the cheerless toils, which have embittered the past; and the pleasure of taking off the burden, of surprising the timid, disheartened sufferer by kind words and cheering looks, and of seeing in his countenance the expression of ease, and even of happiness, gradually returning."— pp. 98, 99.

The whole tone and spirit of the book is excellent, and it hardly seems possible, that any one engaged in the work of education, either publicly or privately, can read it without pleasure and advantage.

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4. — *The Moral Teacher; designed as a Class Book for the Common Schools in the United States of America.* By a Clergyman. New York: Robinson & Franklin. 1839. 12mo. pp. 196.

We are no great friends to the practice of writing *down* to the capacities of children. The usual success of such an attempt is, that the author writes himself *down*, to all intents and purposes. The truth is, that, if a subject is within the reach of a child's intellect, he will understand it, if treated in the ordinary language used by people of good sense, who have passed the age of legal majority. If the matter in itself is too deep for him, he will comprehend it not a whit the better, though it be discussed in terms which savor strongly of the pap-spoon and nursing-bottle. And, as an affair merely of taste, we object decidedly to the use of baby-talk in the higher walks of philosophy. If it be absolutely necessary to enlighten the minds of children on such profound topics, — to teach them how to eat meat before they have cut their first teeth, — better proceed *per saltum*, and give them solid nutriment at once; put the standard treatises on ethics and metaphysics into their hands, and let the unbreeched philosophers run their chance for comprehending what they may, and acquiring an early taste for grave and substantial reading. Cowley and Pope wrote good verses before they were ten years old; why, ask our modern reformers, should not the precocious intellects of the present day study moral philosophy and political economy at a still earlier period? Miss Martineau will lend them a helping hand in the latter science, if they meet with difficulties, and

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the number of her coadjutors, in the other departments of science, is rapidly increasing.

We dislike the plan and object of the little work now before us, though the intrinsic merits of its execution place it very high in the class of works to which it belongs. The writer is evidently a man of talent, well acquainted with the subject which he treats, and, we seriously believe, more capable of discussing it to the profit of men and women of full age and mature capacities, than of initiating school-boys into its mysteries. He has even some acquaintance with the infant mind, though, we maintain, it is an imperfect and unphilosophical one, or he would never have written his "Moral Teacher." As the title purports, it is an introduction to the science of ethics, with some words upon political philosophy, taste, literary criticism, and religious belief, — all designed for the use of *very youthful* pupils in common schools. In the table of contents, we find such titles to the various chapters and sections as the following; "What Morality is;" "What tells us we should do right? Something within and born with us"; "Origin of Civil Society"; "Objects of Civil Society"; "Beauties of Art and Literature"; "Revelation, — presupposes our Moral Capacities." And all these high and mighty themes are illustrated by stories about marbles and pencils lent in schools, and sometimes returned, sometimes not; about Washington, who was naturally passionate, and yet governed his temper remarkably well; about little Sarah, who was once sent to carry a basket of apples, and refused to give one of them to her companion, lest she should become a thief. Now it does not require a Solomon to foresee, that the writer of such a book, however praiseworthy may be his intentions, and ingenious the execution of his task, must fail of attaining the end proposed.

Should he be disposed to revise his present work, or to prepare another, with a similar object in view, we would earnestly call his attention to the following advice. Teach practical morality to children, as much as you please; illustrate the precepts, if you will, by little apologues, the fables of Esop and Pilpay, or even historical anecdotes, and have no fear, if the narrative be a pertinent one, that it will go beyond the child's understanding. But pray leave the deep and dark problems of theoretical ethics to the consideration of full-grown minds. The child suffers, not merely perplexity, but positive moral harm, when he is officiously informed of difficulties, that never would have occurred to his unprompted intellect. Tell him, that the Spartans encouraged their

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boys to steal, and that "there is a tribe of Indians in Missouri, who regard the aged as a useless burden to the community," and there is danger, that he will recollect the facts after he has entirely forgotten your abstruse explanation of them. Should his honesty or filial duties be subsequently exposed to some sore temptation, this recollection may supply an argument on the wrong side, and fairly turn the scale. We do not attribute too much ingenuity to him by this supposition. A smart, but roguish child, in making excuses for some fault, will show ten times as much cunning as is here supposed. If those, who write books for children, would only give their pupils credit, on all subjects, for possessing one half the acuteness and reflective power, which they frequently display in mischief, we would venture to predict an entire reform in the contents of our juvenile libraries.

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5. — *A Critical Exposition of Mental Philosophy, or the First Principles of Metaphysics; embracing a Critical Analysis of Ideas, the Elements of Reasoning, and the Philosophy of the Feelings and the Will. Adapted to Academic and Popular Use.* By LEICESTER A. SAWYER, A. M. New Haven: Published by Durrie & Peck. 1839. 12mo. pp. 316.

A VOLUME of original speculations, on mental philosophy, by an American writer, is a curiosity; and we feel disposed to welcome its appearance, without instituting any very strict inquiry into its merits. It is true, that a portion of our countrymen have evinced, of late, considerable interest in abstract investigations, and metaphysics have been brought within the reach and comprehension of a greater number of persons, than were ever before engaged in such sort of reading. But the appetite, as yet, has been gratified only by foreign nutriment. Numerous translations have appeared, of the most recent French and German treatises on philosophy; and, while the rapidity of their sale shows how much curiosity is excited on the subject, the rather unsatisfactory result of a perusal of them has probably stimulated the desire for fresh inquiries. Whether speculation has not lost as much in depth, as it has thus gained in popularity, — whether a taste has not been created for showy and superficial disquisition, and for forming hasty and sweeping theories on all subjects, — is a question that may admit of doubt, and which

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cannot be safely answered, till we have had further experience. But we shall not complain of this state of things, if it leads other persons, of as much talent and modesty as Mr. Sawyer, to follow his example, by presenting the public with the results of their private studies.

His work contains the fruits of much reflection, rather than of extensive reading, and is more successful in pointing out new subjects for attention and research, than in shedding light upon the much vexed questions, which have perplexed the wits of ancient and modern philosophers. The author has borrowed little, but thought a great deal ; and has here given us the fruits of his labors, in a neat, plain, and generally lucid style, without any attempt at fine writing, hair-spun reasoning, or paradoxical statements. Good taste and correct judgment are apparent throughout the book. Free from affectation and rhetorical artifice, and occupied entirely with abstract subjects, it will be relished by a small class of students, but will probably find few purchasers, and still fewer readers, among the multitude. The writer is unaffectedly modest, though his manner of frequently stating conclusions, without giving the arguments on which they rest, often appears like dogmatism. We know nothing of the circumstances under which the book is written ; but there is good internal evidence, that the writer has had too much respect for the public, to hurry before them with undigested opinions and a slip-shod style, and has carefully reviewed and elaborated his matter, until it displays regularity of feature and general comeliness.

Perhaps if Mr. Sawyer had confined his attention, for the present, to one branch of a most comprehensive subject, his speculations would have gained in point of unity and compactness, and the reader would be less confused by frequent and sudden transitions. As it is, he has gained a sort of completeness, by touching lightly on all the ramifications of metaphysical inquiry, and admitting no doctrines from other writers, which had not been carefully weighed and remodelled in his own mind. But we frequently feel, that the discussion of a single topic is incomplete, and that the remarks are loose and disjointed. Even a hypothetical system, though dangerous in many respects, may be of use to a writer in this department of knowledge, by enabling him to fuse scattered hints and unconnected opinions into one methodical whole. The phraseology is generally accurate and clear, the innovations, in the use of words, which philosophical writers are so strongly tempted to make, being, in this

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case, carefully studied and conformed to the genius of the language. Sometimes, however, where technical terms are introduced, which have but lately taken root in English soil, they are applied somewhat variously, in different parts of the work, as if only a wavering and confused idea was attached to them in the mind of the author. We notice this fact, particularly, in the case of the two very convenient correlative terms, *subjective* and *objective*, which are used sometimes in the common and sometimes in the technical sense, so that the reader is often bewildered between them.

But these are small blemishes, and detract but little from the praise due to the writer, for the preparation of a thoughtful and ingenious treatise on an abstruse and difficult subject. If opportunity served, we might break a lance with him in argument on one or two of his favorite opinions. But as this pleasure is denied, it only remains to offer him our thanks for the mingled instruction and entertainment which we have drawn from the perusal of his lucubrations.

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6. — *A Practical Treatise on Arithmetic; to which is added a Description of Book-keeping, with Examples for Practice.* By George Leonard, Jr. Boston: George W. Light. 16mo. pp. 347.

The circulation of school-books of the right kind in this country is a matter of great moment, and we hail the appearance of such an one, as we esteem this volume of Mr. Leonard to be, with peculiar satisfaction. It is the greater, when we consider the currency frequently obtained by such things, and the corresponding good or evil they must be continually effecting. Few persons are probably aware, for example, of the extent to which Pike's Arithmetic has been used, and even still is; or some half a dozen others which might be named, including Adams's, one of the most modern, of which, according to a statement in the author's Preface, some forty thousands had been printed, as long ago as 1831. It is a fact well authenticated, we suppose, that some of our school-books have been sold in numbers ranging from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand, within the first ten years of their existence! The appearance of a new candidate for currency like this, with any thing like specious pretensions, may be deemed, we repeat it, a matter of national interest.

It is very evident to us, that Mr. Leonard has not lost sight

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of these considerations; nor yet of another circumstance, equally interesting to the cause of education,—that, in the crowd of these candidates for the lucrative public favor of which we have spoken, there must be something rather remarkable in the character of a new one, to give it much prospect of a profitable rivalry with its fellows. A fresh Arithmetic is not the imposing phenomenon it once was. It must not only advance claims to improvements of some sort over its predecessors, but it must sustain them too, sooner or later. It must endure examination. Slovenly or spiritless compilations and abridgments will never do.

Such a book is not Mr. Leonard's. It is evident on every page, that great labor has been spent upon it, and that of no blind or dull description, but by a mind impressed with clear views of the subject, and accustomed to make its industry *tell* to some good account. Not that this Arithmetic contains a large proportion of new matter, or proposes many original ideas. We should at once have doubts of its value suggested to us, if it affected any such thing. The improvements it seems to us to present, are those of greater convenience than show. Mostly, they must needs be matters of arrangement, rather than of substantive innovation. McAdam was not the first man who used broken stones in road-making. He used them in a slightly different manner from others; but he altered the whole face of countries by the change. Mr. Leonard has done something, we think, to *Macadamize* arithmetic.

The chief merits of his book may be soon stated. Many of them are comprised in the one important word, simplification; by which we mean to express its character in respect not merely to details, but also to system and order, prevailing coherently throughout the work. Intended, we presume, for the use of common schools, it assumes that the learner is able to read; and beginning at this point, it goes on from one subject to another in a manner which appears to us eminently rational and natural. Every principle is explained, either by simple questions preceding the statement of it, so that the pupil reasons it out for himself, or by the discussion of an operation performed at length in figures. To do this, or attempt it, more or less, is a common practice; but the extent to which these explanations and illustrations accomplish their object, must of course depend upon each author's skill. In this work we consider them to be unusually practical, simple, and clear. These, as all teachers well know, are important points. Brevity is another, and this too has been studied. Most of the school-books multiply useless words, to the great embarrassment of youthful minds. Others have attained the merit of

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brevity too often at the expense of clearness, — sometimes omitting matter in fact indispensable to the complete comprehension of the subject, and perhaps for the sake of introducing what is, to say the least, of doubtful value. Mr. Leonard's book is remarkably free from these faults. Where it is really necessary, he uses as many words as other authors, but very seldom where it is not. Let us take one specimen. A rule has been adopted in many of our most respectable courts of justice for computing interest when partial payments have been made. In the New York Chancery Reports, this rule is thus stated by Chancellor Kent ; —

"The rule for casting interest, when partial payments have been made, is to apply the payment, in the first place, to the discharge of the interest then due. If the payment exceeds the interest, the surplus goes towards discharging the principal, and the subsequent interest is to be computed on the balance of principal remaining due. If the payment be less than the interest, the surplus of interest must not be taken to augment the principal; but interest continues on the former principal until the period when the payments, taken together, exceed the interest due, and then the surplus is to be applied towards discharging the principal; and interest is to be computed on the balance, as aforesaid."

Thus we find this rule in the recent Arithmetics. Mr. Leonard seems to us to have gained much and lost nothing by expressing it as follows ;

"Cast the interest to the time when the money paid shall at least be equal to the interest, then discharge the interest from the money paid, subtract the excess, if any, from the principal, and cast the interest on the new principal as before, and so on."

His management of interest may be referred to as a specimen of his style. Generally the scholar carries off from common treatises no single simple rule that will really serve the purposes of business. He learns, — that is, commits to memory, — a number of half-formed ones, none of which proves available in the end, and he finally gets to performing the operations in question by a process which he owes to his own unaided common sense. The Numeration in this work, the statements of all the simple rules, and the method of proving certain operations (as multiplication), may generally be compared with corresponding portions of common treatises, much, we think, to the advantage of the former.

This is a recommendation which applies to details. A more comprehensive one is deserved by the arrangement at large. The author's study has evidently been, to make this such throughout that one subject would naturally call up another, introducing us from each to each by an obvious and pleasing

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gradation ; so that any article, as *Fractions*, *Decimal Fractions*, *Federal Money*, &c. when once discussed and explained, instead of being laid aside altogether, is made to recur practically, — not, as it were, intruding, but yet insisting upon being remembered and well understood. This merit would seem to be indispensable ; but, as we have before hinted, authors have attained to it mostly but in imperfect as well as widely-various degrees. For example, Mr. Leonard's first rule in *Decimal Fractions* is for changing a common fraction to a decimal. All the treatises have such a rule. It is as easily explained in one place as another. Now the position of it is important, and herein is the difference between the arrangement before us, and others which occur to our recollection. In them it is placed at the end of Decimals. Here, coming first, its principles can be employed in addition, subtraction, &c., of Decimals, which follow it. Thus the pupil has the advantage of re-impressing an important process upon his mind, at the same time that he performs an operation similar to those which occur in the actual practice of business, and so reminding him of the real utility of the rule. So, in most of the treatises, we find *Federal Money* placed just after *Division.* Of course, many rules must be given, and a long article appears. In the work before us, the subject comes *after Decimals*, and every operation in it is performed by reference merely to *them.* So, in *Compound Numbers*, where *Fractions* are to be applied to them. Mr. Leonard here has inverted the common order. In ordinary text-books, possessed too of much merit, the arrangement makes it necessary to crowd part of *Compound Numbers* into *Fractions ;* and hence follows omission as well as repetition, with a needless enlargement of the volume, and confusion of the pupil's mind. Our meaning will be understood by a reference to *Reduction of Fractions*, or of *Decimals*, in the common treatises and in Mr. Leonard's. *Percentage* is another case in point, and there are many more. We specify these merely as illustrations.

The form and name of that ancient stumbling-block to novices, the *Rule of Three*, are retained as usual. So are the old distinctions generally, which on the whole we think wise. Such a compliment to custom and habit, were it nothing more, need occasion no inconvenience. It is perfectly easy to do so, and yet thoroughly work the old processes over anew. The learner, in this book, is led on through the subject in question with a good deal of tact. Much reliance is placed on examples, to be performed by the pupil, and these are of all conceivable varieties which may be of use to him.

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At the same time nothing is solved by algebraic proportion; and in this point the author agrees, so far as we recollect, with Colburn alone. The reason is clear enough. It costs the pupil more to simply state the examples in such a form, than it does to perform them without any statement at all. Nor do many persons, in actual business, make any statements in proportion, in similar cases. They work, in fact, just as it will be seen Mr. Leonard has led his learner by his right explanations to do. It is obvious to remark, that there are a vast many questions in the *Rule of Three*, which hardly admit of being stated in proportion at all.

This is an instance of judicious omission; and there are many more such, though the treatise embraces, we believe, all the modern improvements in Arithmetic, which deserve to be so called. *Position*, *Permutations*, and *Combinations*, are among these omissions. The two last are algebraic subjects, of limited utility, and not to be explained in arithmetic. The first is wholly useless. One of our popular authors acknowledges this in his preface, though he still inserts the article in his book, apparently from mere deference to habit. Mr. Leonard would perhaps have made a good exchange, in rejecting all these Rules, had he only gained by it the insertion of *Specific Gravity* which is of utility, and the writing out of *Mensuration*, and the *Mechanical Powers*, without the customary mutilation. These articles contain much matter of real value, especially to young mechanics; and, though an arithmetic is not a treatise on mechanics, we must decidedly commend the author's policy, observed in many other cases as well as this, of furnishing in his book all the matter which is really wanted by the class he writes for in actual ordinary life, and which is not to be had from other sources. Every mathematical subject of prime necessity, in fact, belongs to an arithmetic, and so does every important branch of business which contains mathematical calculation. After all, we have but the simple elements of mensuration given here. They occupy little space, though obviously applicable to surfaces and bodies so extensively, that the intelligent student can hardly fail, after making himself master of these principles, to measure correctly any thing which is likely to come in his way. So among the Mechanical Powers, we have a description of the second kind of lever as well as the first. For this a good reason exists. The second is in common use, perhaps as much so as the first. And yet we do not now remember any other

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instance of its finding a place in an arithmetic. So in *Gauging*, it is usual to give a rule for finding the capacity of a cask in ale and wine gallons only. In this treatise it may be measured in bushels, or in imperial gallons; the latter of which, at least, is of some moment, inasmuch as this measure is exclusively used in Great Britain, and, to some extent, (like the bushel measure,) in our own country also.

Such, generally, is the practical character of the work; and we consider it no small merit. Other illustrations of it occur to us in the excellent little department devoted to *Book-Keeping*, adapted to popular use, to business-forms, to the divisions of the dollar, as adopted by auctioneers, and to the account of the moneys in which the value of small articles is usually named in the various parts of the United States. These may look at first like trifles; but it is trifles like these which make up, in the aggregate, the real availability and true worth of the work. Every traveller must have learned the utility of the statements last named, — not to say every reader of newspapers. Probably the least indispensable part of the work is the article on *Foreign Measures*, *Weights*, and *Moneys*, being chiefly intended for one class, the merchants; but it is obvious, that a remark like that just made respecting domestic information equally applies, as regards these other matters, to every person who would consult foreign histories, or travels, or even a common journal.

The leading recommendations of Mr. Leonard's book, then, are its simplicity, clearness, and practical character. More can scarcely be said in favor of such a work. We ought, however, to mention, that not a few cases occur of the correction of long-established errors, especially in the form of rules, some of which, popular as they have been and still are, must frequently be productive of most incorrect and inconvenient results. A striking instance of this kind will be found in *Mensuration*. At the same time, the book, doubtless, is not perfect itself. We have detected a few errors in the *answers* here and there, and there are some cases, where the author has relaxed a little from his rigorous principle of making things perfectly plain to the most indifferent understanding. For example; "Per cent. is a contraction of the Latin *per centum*, which signifies *per* hundred." But these are trivial things, easily corrected in another edition.

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7. — *The Characters of Schiller ;* by Mrs. Ellet. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Company. 1839. 12mo. pp. 296.

This is a volume of a very interesting character. It shows a fine literary taste, and very considerable attainments ; and the subject of it, to wit, the genius of Schiller as displayed in his dramatic characters, is one of great and daily increasing interest to the lovers of German literature. There is no controversy in the minds of men, in regard to Schiller. On all hands he is acknowledged to be a poet of a very high, if not of the highest order ; and the warmth and honesty of his heart, which shine out in his writings, are acknowledged with an equally harmonious consent. In this respect, his fate is widely different from that of his great contemporary, Goethe, whose indifference to the stirring interests of the age is daily operating to diminish his fame, and to weaken the love with which his memory is regarded.

As a dramatic author, Schiller had several great faults. He had but little power in depicting, or rather in representing, men as men, — as living beings, — with the foibles and virtues which mark them in actual life. His characters, it is said, are almost all *ideal*, which means, that they are not *real ;* that they are compounded of qualities in such proportions as are not found among men. They are not human beings, but only personifications of those qualities ; and the sentiments they are made to utter, are not such as men would actually utter under the given circumstances, but such as the poet himself feels in contemplation of the imaginary scene. It is this which makes Schiller so preëminently what the Germans call a *subjective* poet. Now it is plain, that the dramatic characters of such a poet open but few questions for criticism to decide. The aim of each character is distinctly seen at once. We are not obliged to ponder upon it, as we do in deciding on the merits of a character of real life. We know at once what the poet means by it, provided we comprehend the import of his language. There are no hidden motives influencing conduct ; no half-betrayed idiosyncrasies, which are to be traced out by a long and scrutinizing comparison of words, and hints, and actions. When we read a play of Shakspeare, we are strongly persuaded of its reality ; his men and women come and go, talk and act, exhibit one or another part of their characters, just as we have seen men and women do every day of our lives ; and, when the action or the sentiment rises into the tragical

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or heroic, and beyond our experience, we are borne upon and with it, as it were on the wings of the poet's genius, into a higher region, where we seem to see with our own eyes, and hear with our own ears ; and where we are made to feel the beauty, and consistency, and reality, of the poet's imaginary world. Hence we discuss the virtues and faults of Shakspeare's characters, just as we would those of men and women whom we have known ; and doubts remain upon our minds in regard to them, just as happens in regard to our every-day acquaintances.

Mrs. Ellet, therefore, labors under the disadvantage growing out of the peculiarity of Schiller's genius, which we have very briefly indicated. The field of discussion is a narrow one, and the questions started in it are by no means difficult of solution. Still the discussion is interesting, as it throws a broad light on the admirable character and genius of the poet. And though, as we have said, there are no intricate questions to be solved, as to the real drift of Schiller's dramatic characters, still the simple description of them is an interesting task for a person of literary taste.

Mrs. Ellet's book will have to undergo the ordeal of a comparison with Mrs. Jameson's incomparable work on the characters of Shakspeare, by which it was evidently suggested. If it should be found to fall below that exquisite work, it will be no discredit to Mrs. Ellet ; for Mrs. Jameson is the most accomplished and brilliant literary woman since Madame de Staël ; and, where Shakspeare is read and appreciated, there will Mrs. Jameson be acknowledged as one of the most profound and elegant of his illustrators.

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8. — *Travels of Father Hennepin.* (*Democratic Review, for April,* 1839.)

In a late number of our Journal, while treating of the early discoveries in the West,* we had occasion to speak of the Travels of Father Hennepin. It is well known, that, from the first publication of these Travels, the author's veracity, on certain points, has been more than doubted. In the article above alluded to, we expressed our opinion, after a pretty thorough investigation of the subject, that these doubts were well founded, and that the pretended discoveries

* *North American Review,* Vol. XLVIII. pp. 63 *et seq.*

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of Father Hennepin *below* the mouth of the Illinois river were unworthy of credit. His narrative of a voyage down the Mississippi, we believed, and still believe, to have been fabricated in Europe, several years after he left America.

A writer in the "Democratic Review" has assumed the other side of the question, and undertaken to relieve the memory of Hennepin from the burden of these charges. He endeavours to answer some of our objections, and seems to look to us for a reply. We do not perceive, however, that he has brought forward any facts, which had not already passed under our notice, or that he has removed any of the obstacles, which stand in the way of the credibility of Hennepin's narrative. He has accumulated probabilities, to which due weight should be allowed, though, for reasons which we gave in treating the subject, they do not satisfy our minds. He points out no error in our statements, and neither produces new testimony, nor new materials of any kind, which, in our opinion, affect the merits of the question. He is so far from referring to any book which we had not consulted, that, for any thing that appears, he obtained most of his facts from our article. As to Ellicott and Stoddard, whom he finds fault with us for not mentioning with sufficient consideration, we did precisely that which these writers failed to do; that is, we compared the two works of Hennepin together, and the supposed spurious one with that attributed to Tonti. The grounds, upon which, on a previous occasion, we had referred to the latter, were also fully stated by us.* So far from leaving any room for doubt, whether we were acquainted with Charlevoix's objections to it, we expressly cited and canvassed those objections. † And as to another fact, in respect to which the writer in April finds occasion for a rebuke to us, we had ourselves recorded it in January, in the paper on which he was commenting; — we refer to Tonti's not being known to have returned to France, after his departure from it with La Salle. ‡

The editors of the "Democratic Review" suggest their intention of investigating the subject to a greater length; and, when this task shall be executed, we shall not be reluctant to recur to it, should they succeed in collecting additional facts. The subject, being one merely of historical inquiry, should be discussed without prejudice or bias, and with no other aim than that of arriving at the truth. In this spirit we shall be ready to continue the discussion whenever occasion may offer.

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* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 81. † *Ibid.* pp. 81, 82.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 97.

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In reviewing the writer's statements, however, we cannot forbear to express our surprise, that he should have so entirely overlooked the voyage of Father Marquette from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, about which there is no question, and which was performed *seven years before Hennepin saw the Mississippi.* He lays much stress on Hennepin's map, and speaks of it as follows. "Hennepin gives a map of the country, *till then unknown*, from Florida to the South Sea, and traces the Mississippi considerably below the point to which La Salle authorized him to go below the Illinois, and beyond which its course was so *utterly unknown*, that La Salle himself hoped to reach China by it. In this map, nevertheless, Hennepin continues the course of the river, by a dotted line, to the Gulf of Mexico, fully intimating his knowledge of its *débouche*, nearly two years before the information acquired by La Salle was communicated to Europe." Now this map was published in 1683, *ten years after* Marquette's voyage, the particulars of which were well known in Canada, as Joliet, the companion of Marquette, remained there. Moreover, Marquette's narrative, accompanied by a map of the Mississippi from the Wisconsin to the Gulf of Mexico, was published at Paris, in 1681, *two years before* the publication of Hennepin's map. It is likewise to be observed, that Marquette's map is remarkable for the accuracy with which the rivers and other conspicuous objects are delineated. Where is the wonder, then, that Hennepin, with this map before him, should be able to construct another map, in which the same objects are delineated?

Again, the writer says; "A singular feature in the whole matter is, *the absence of authentic information respecting the discovery of the Mississippi until* 1697. No trace of any account of it occurs in any remarks that we have met, written on the subject." And yet, *twenty-four years before this date*, Marquette had not only discovered the Mississippi, but had sailed down its waters from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, a distance of more than one thousand miles; and, *sixteen years before*, the account of these discoveries had been published in Paris!

In the same tone, the writer adds; "Hennepin transferred to the literature and language of the old world, the Indian name of the great Mississippi, the hoary father of waters, *which he first explored.*" An extraordinary assertion; as Marquette had called the river constantly by that name, and affixed the name to "the hoary father of waters" in his map. The writer also speaks of "Hennepin's name of

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Illinois," although Marquette had both mentioned this name, and explained its meaning in the Indian language.

From these remarkable oversights, we should infer, that the writer had never heard of Marquette's narrative, if he did not allude to it in a way that leads the reader to suppose he was not ignorant of it. At any rate, it would have been better for him to spare such broad assertions, till he had thoroughly possessed himself of facts, and examined all the bearings of his subject. As they now stand, they essentially weaken his argument, and create the suspicion, that, if he could fall into such grave errors in one branch of the discussion, he may not be free from them in others. If this is a specimen of the accuracy, with which the editors propose to pursue their inquiries, it is to be feared, that their results will not contribute much to increase our stock of historical knowledge. Before they proceed further, we recommend to them a careful perusal of Marquette's narrative, and an inspection of his map, and we apprehend they will find there the substance of nearly all such particulars, contained in Hennepin's description of the lower Mississippi, as could not be easily supplied by a fertile imagination. Nor is it the least of Hennepin's delinquencies, that, even in his first work, he should not have given due credit to a traveller, who had preceded him in a large part of his actual discoveries on the upper Mississippi.

The writer in the "Democratic Review" desires us to give further information relative to the map of Tonti, referred to by us. We wish we had it to give. But he will see, on a more careful reading, that, so far from professing to have seen the map in question, we expressly referred to Mitchell's preface to Joutel's "Journal," as authority for our description, and added, that "the only original copy of the Journal, published as by Tonti, which we have seen, (that in Harvard College Library,) has no map."* On the other hand, what could this writer have had in his mind, when he suggests, that the map, thus referred to by Mitchell, must have been contained in the reprint of Tonti, given in the "Recueil de Voyages au Nord"? Mitchell's edition of Joutel was printed in 1714. Was there any edition of the "Recueil" earlier than this? Was there any till twenty years later?

On the latitude given by Tonti, the "Democratic Review" says, an important point in the controversy turns. If the controversy respecting Hennepin's veracity be meant, we do not see how that latitude affects the question. There is

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 82. note.

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no doubt, that Hennepin's latitude, and description, of the mouth of the Mississippi, are more correct than that of the work ascribed to Tonti; nor is the authenticity of that work upheld by us. We referred to his supposed map, incidentally, in speaking of our reasons for rejecting Charlevoix's general denunciation of his Journal. We do not suppose that Hennepin got his latitude from Tonti, for it agrees neither with his text nor the map mentioned by Mitchell.

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9. — *Letters to the Honorable James T. Morehead, on Transylvania University, and the Necessity of a System of Education in Kentucky.* By WILLIAM PITT. Smithland, Kentucky: Charles A. Fuller. 1837. 8vo. pp. 28.

THESE very sensible and spirited letters we have understood to be from the pen of a gentleman, who, having a few years ago won a high reputation for talent and accomplishments at our Massachusetts University, has since been laboring, with an admirable zeal, to excite the people of his native State to efforts for the establishment of a system of education, corresponding to their wants and means, and to the important place which Kentucky holds in the Union. The best testimony to the wisdom and energy of his exertions, made as well through this little publication as in other ways, is the fact, that, in consequence of them, (in addition, it is likely, to other endeavours to the same end, with which we are less acquainted,) an unusual attention has been awakened, in that community, to the subject of education in all its departments, and arrangements of the most liberal description have been made for its advancement. A literary fund, amounting, if we are correctly informed, to a million of dollars, has been established by the legislature, and a Superintendent and Board of Education have been appointed, under whose administration it is believed that a system of common schools will soon be in successful operation throughout the State. Meanwhile, energetic steps have been taken to raise the University at Lexington to a condition of greater usefulness, with a view, as well to the supply of competent teachers for the schools, as to the other objects of seminaries of instruction of the highest class. Among other means, to this end, more than seventy individuals have subscribed to its funds five hundred dollars each, to be paid in annual

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instalments of one hundred dollars. One of the conditions of this endowment being, that the State of Kentucky, or the city of Lexington, should contribute an equal amount to that furnished by private bounty, the State legislature, being not yet prepared to make the appropriation, transferred part of its authority over the University to the city of Lexington, which, thereupon, with a noble liberality, endowed it with the sum of seventy thousand dollars; appropriating, from this amount, forty-five thousand dollars to the building of a Medical College and the provision of a Medical library and apparatus, and five thousand dollars to the increase of the library of the Law school. The Medical and Law departments of the University have, for many years, been in high repute. The former numbers, this year, about two hundred and forty students; the latter about sixty. To revive the Academical department, which has been less prosperous, the pecuniary means are mainly as follows;

Real estate, including the College buildings, and land adjoining	$100 000
Morrison fund, for the support of a professor of Mathematics	20·000
Appropriation by the city of Lexington .	20·000
Avails of the recent subscriptions by individuals, more than	35·000
Making an amount exceeding	$175,000

In possession of this property, in addition to the receipts from students, the prospects of the Academical department wear a very encouraging appearance; and we confidently expect, as well as earnestly desire, to see the hopes entertained by those truly intelligent and meritorious citizens, who, by pecuniary aid, and still more by personal exertion, have taken part in this movement, amply fulfilled by the event. Kentucky has few sons, to whom she is under weightier obligations, than to them.

Besides the University at Lexington, there is a College, under Catholic management, at Bardstown; the Presbyterians have one at Danville; the Methodists, at Augusta; the Baptists, at Georgetown; and the Cumberland Presbyterians, at Princeton, in the Southern or Green River section of the State. There is also a College at Shelbyville, — we do not know under what administration.

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10. — *A l'Abri, or the Tent Pitched.* By N. P. Willis. New York: Samuel Colman. 12mo. pp. 172.

This little volume is made up of letters, written by Mr. Willis while living in the country, and first published in the "New York Mirror." They are composed in a sprightly, dashing style, and present very agreeable pictures of country life, and now and then very lively descriptions of scenery. But they are occasionally disgraced by a spice of dandyism, both in thought and style, which Mr. Willis would do well to throw aside, as a folly of literary youth, unworthy to be cherished in riper years. Yet even with this deduction, — which, in the eyes of many readers no doubt, will be found a great attraction, — the book is one of the most readable of the season. Open it anywhere, and you find something agreeable and sprightly. Mr. Willis's prose style has the elements of rare beauty and excellence; but he writes too much, and too hastily, and deforms his writings altogether too much with the mincing and affected phraseology of the fashionable scribblers and novelists. All this will do well enough for readers of circulating libraries, but fails to command the respect of men of sense.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE I. OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

While the Article on Prison Discipline was passing through the press, we received the report of the Committee of the Legislature of New York, who, during the past winter, visited the State Prison at Sing Sing. We have never attended to a more melancholy disclosure. From this report it appears, that the board of inspectors of this prison, instead of taking upon themselves the discharge of the duties required by law, have, in effect, surrendered their principal duties, and committed the entire management and control of that prison, its offices and affairs, to the agent. "The agent has uniformly appointed the assistants; fixed their salaries; at his pleasure removed them; and the board of inspectors have never done more than to give their assent to his acts." The agent has furnished, at his discretion, all articles for the use of the prison, and provisions for the convicts, and has conducted the "sale of all wares and articles produced at the prison." "The

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assistant-keepers have entered upon the duties of their appointment without taking the oath of office," and they all "exercise discretionary and unlimited power in the punishment of convicts," subject, indeed, to a provision requiring a written report of each case of punishment, which provision, however, has been commonly evaded.

It also appeared in evidence, that the convicts, under this system, were not supplied with a sufficient quantity of wholesome food; that, during the year 1837-8, convicts failed to perform their usual tasks, and, when reprimanded for such omissions, they would allege, *with tears in their eyes*, their inability, arising from want of food, to sustain them; that, when they applied for additional food, they were frequently beaten away by the superintendent of the kitchen without it; that, instead of the legal rations of beef and pork, codfish had been substituted, at one time, from August to January; and that, instead of molasses with mush, the grease skimmed from the pots was substituted; and that the convicts were, on various occasions, seen snatching offal from the swill-barrel, in order to satisfy the cravings of hunger. It was also proved before the committee, that cruel and unreasonable punishments have been often inflicted within the prison. "For small offences, eighty or a hundred strokes upon the bare back and legs have been given by an instrument which multiplies every stroke by six;" that severe "punishments have been inflicted on persons manifestly insane;" "*in one case, one thousand lashes were inflicted on a maniac, in the space of a week;*" "convicts have been disabled by scourging," so as to require treatment at the hospital; "assistant keepers have stripped and whipped a convict, for insults offered to such officers before conviction;" discharged convicts have been seized and compelled to work again at the will of officers.

This is bad enough, in all conscience, but the worst remains to be told. Upon the reception of this report, Governor Seward immediately sent a message to the legislature stating the facts, and recommending the removal of the inspectors, in whom by law is vested the appointment of the agent and his subordinates. This *recommendation was not acted upon.* The inspectors were suffered to remain, and the members of the legislature went home to their constituents, with this report of their committee in their pockets. As soon as the legislature adjourned, the work of reform commenced in the prison, by *turning out of office every person who had testified to these shocking abuses before the committee.* At least, so state the daily papers. *Will the Empire State bear this?*

A course of similar proceedings occurred during the past

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year in the prison at Auburn. There, however, to the credit of Western New York, be it said, the public indignation waxed so strong, that the agent saw fit to retire, and his successor has already been appointed.

We mention these circumstances, because we desire to put the community in possession of all the facts in the case. They teach us, that there is no inherent efficiency in any form of prison discipline ; but that every system is *liable* to shocking abuse. None can succeed without vigilant public inspection, and without the efficient superintendence of a board, composed of the ablest and most honorable men in the community. We are happy to say, such men compose the board of inspectors of the Massachusetts' State Prison. We hope that the other States will imitate her example.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE I. OF NUMBER 100.

A LETTER, from a friend at Marietta, points out an error in our recent article upon the history of Ohio. It is therein stated, (Vol. XLVII. p. 48,) that the Reverend Manasseh Cutler was with Mr. Guilford at Columbus, at the passage of the School Law, in 1825. It was not Manasseh, but his son Ephraim. The former died in 1823.

A few other statements in the article are thought by our correspondent to be erroneous. We cannot, on present evidence, consider them so. He says, for instance, that Cutler, and not Parsons, applied to Congress, for the lands on the Muskingum. But in the fourth volume of "Journals of the Old Congress," (at p. 755,) appears the report on Parsons's application, and, at p. 17 of the Appendix, the final report of Congress on the same, with their reference to the Board of Treasury, which led to the communication of Cutler and Sargent.

Again, he thinks, that the territory of the original contract did not run to the Scioto. In the places above referred to, however, that river is named by Congress as the western boundary, and was accepted by Cutler as such. The other boundary was fixed five years later. See "Land Laws," p. 364.

We hope our correspondent will fulfil his purpose of giving a full account of the settlement of the Muskingum from original sources. Some of our statements were, from the nature of the case, made upon individual authority. We used none to which we do not ascribe the highest credit ; but we shall cordially welcome any further evidence, whether it contradict or corroborate our present views.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

Second Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts. By Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 194.

The American Fruit Garden Companion, being a Practical Treatise on the Propagation and Culture of Fruit. Adapted to the Northern and Middle States. By Edward Sayers, Gardener. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 12mo. pp. 174.

The American Flower Garden Directory, containing Practical Directions for the Culture of Plants in the Flower Garden, Hot House, Green House, Rooms, or Parlour Windows, for every Month in the Year; with a Description of the Plants most desirable in each, &c. &c. By Robert Bruist, Nursery-man and Florist. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 8vo. pp. 380.

The Silk Culturist's Manual; or a Popular Treatise on the Planting and Cultivation of Mulberry Trees, the Rearing and Propagating of Silk Worms, &c. Addressed to the Farmers and Planters of the United States, by John D'Homergue. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson. 12mo. pp. 406.

A Treatise on the Culture of the Dahlia and Cactus. By E. Sayers, Author of "The Flower Garden Companion." Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 72.

Dennis's Silk Manual; containing Complete Directions for Cultivating the Different Kinds of Mulberry Trees, Feeding Silk Worms, and Manufacturing Silk to Profit; adapted to the Wants of the American Cultivator, and believed to contain more Practical Information than any similar Work now before the Public. By Jonathan Dennis, Jr., of Portsmouth (R. I.) New York: Mahlon Day & Co. 18mo. pp. 107.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The People's Presidential Candidate; or the Life of William Henry Harrison of Ohio. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 211.

Biography of Revolutionary Heroes. Containing the Lives of Brigadier-General William Barton and Captain Stephen Olney. By Mrs. Williams, Author of "Religion at Home," &c. &c. Providence: Published by the Author. New York: Bailey & Putnam. 18mo. pp. 312.

The Life of William Wilberforce; by his Sons, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M. A., and Samuel Wilberforce, M. A. Abridged from the London Edition, by Caspar Morris, M. D. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 544.

Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Munson and the Rev. Henry Lyman, late Missionaries to the Indian Archipelago, with the Journal of their Exploring Tour. By Rev. William Thompson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 196.

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